

# TEXT CUT BOOK



THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

I

THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXXVII

Oxford

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# PAHLAVI TEXTS

TRANSLATED BY

E. W. WEST

PART IV

CONTENTS OF THE NASKS

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## INTRODUCTION.

ATTENTIVE readers of the Sacred Books of the East have had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Zoroastrian scriptures, so far as these have been preserved by the Parsis. In vols. iv, xxiii, and xxxi they have translations of all the texts extant in the original language of the Avesta, excepting a few fragments which are not yet collected. And in vols. v, xviii, and xxiv they have translations of later Pahlavi texts, showing how faithfully the old doctrines and legends were handed down by the priests of Sasanian times to their immediate successors. But they will also have noticed that the translators of these texts are well aware of the fact that the texts themselves are mere fragments of the religious writings of the Zoroastrians, which owe their preservation to the circumstance that they were those portions most usually committed to memory by the priesthood, such as the liturgy, sacred myths, and ceremonial laws. The object of the present volume is to add to those fragments all the accessible information, that can be collected from Irânian sources, regarding the contents of the whole Zoroastrian literature in Sasanian times.

It has been long known that this literature was contained in twenty-one Nasks, or treatises, named either from the nature of their contents, or from their initial words, and each having one of the twenty-one words of the Ahunavair attached to it as a kind of artificial reminder of their proper order and number while enumerating them. Very brief statements of the contents of each Nask have also been accessible in manuscripts of the Persian Rivâyats, such as those translated in pp. 419–438 of this volume. And the existence of a much longer account of the Nasks in the *Dînkard* was ascertained by Haug, who published

some extracts from it in 1870, when describing several of the Nasks in the Index to the Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary. He was unable to do more, on account of the defective state of all modern manuscripts of the *Dînkard*, in which a large portion of the text of the description of the Nasks, in the eighth and ninth books, is missing in various places without any hint of the omissions. These defects were owing to the abstraction of 52 folios of this part of the Irânian manuscript of the *Dînkard*, after it was brought to India and before any copy of it had been written; and, even now, two of these folios are still missing, as stated in pp. 262, 270. The importance of recovering these 52 missing folios was due to the fact that they contain the text of Dk. VIII, Chaps. VII, 5-XIX, 36, XXXI, 31-XXXVIII, 19, XLIV, 34-XLVI, 5, and Dk. IX, Chaps. I, 1-XI, 11, XII, 15-XLVII, 17, or nearly half the text of the two books.

Regarding the early history of the *Dînkard* there exists a detailed statement in the last chapter of its third book, which can now be translated with greater precision than was possible in 1867, when Haug published its Pahlavi text, with an English translation, in his introduction to the *Farhang-i Oim-aêvak*, or *Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*. In this historical statement it is evident that §§ 1-8 refer to the traditional history of the Zoroastrian scriptures generally, considered as the original source of the information contained in the *Dînkard*; but §§ 9-13 may be accepted as the actual history of the compilation of the work itself, the facts of which may, very possibly, have all been within the personal knowledge of the writer of the statement. The Pahlavi text of this statement, as preserved in the manuscripts B and K (see pp. xxxv-xxxviii and 2), may be translated as follows:—

'1. About the *Dînkard* scripture (*nipîk*), from the Exposition of the Good Religion, there is *this*:—The *Dînkard* scripture is a work which is adorned with all wisdom, and a publication of the Mazda-worshipping religion. 2. And, first, the work—which was derived from the good religion of those of the primitive faith, and which was the knowledge revealing the good religion of the

prophet (*vakhshvar*) Spītāmān Zarātūst, whose guardian spirit is reverenced, and *his* first disciple through asking and hearing the same reverenced guardian spirit—is information which is a similitude of enlightenment on every subject from the original light. 3. And those original questions and the decision of the exalted ruler Kāt-Vistāsp to have *them* written *were its* origin, and he ordered *them* to deliver the original to the treasury of Shapīgān<sup>1</sup>, and to distribute copies provided. 4. And, after that, he sends a copy to the fortress of documents, to keep the information also there.

‘5. And during the ruin that happened to the country of Irān, and in the monarchy, owing to the evil-destined villain Alexander, that which *was* in the fortress of documents came to be burnt, and that in the treasury of Shapīgān<sup>2</sup> into the hands of the Arūmans, and *was* translated by him even into the Greek language, as information which *was* connected with the ancients (*min pēsīnīgān padvastakō*).

‘6. And that Artakhshatar, king of kings, who *was* son of Pāpak, came for the restoration of the monarchy of Irān, and the same scripture *was* brought from a scattered state to one place. 7. The righteous Tōsar of the primitive faith, who was the priest of priests<sup>3</sup>, appeared with an exposition recovered from the Avesta, and *was* ordered to complete *the scripture* from that exposition. 8. He did so accordingly (*ham-gūnakō*), to preserve a similitude of the splendour of the original enlightenment in the treasury of Shapīgān<sup>4</sup>, and *was* ordered to distribute copies of the information provided.

‘9. And after the ruin and devastation that came from the Arabs, even to the archives (*dīvān*) and treasures of the realm, the saintly<sup>5</sup> Ātūr-farnbag, son of Farukhō-zād, who became the leader of the orthodox, brought those copies, which were scattered on all sides, and new resources, back from dispersion into union *with* the archives of his residence; and, through observance and consideration for the Avesta and Zand of the good religion, he made the sayings of those of the primitive faith again a similitude of the illumination (*fīrōkō*) from that splendour.

<sup>1</sup> Both MSS. have Shasīgān here, but see p. 413, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> So in K, or perhaps Shīsīgān; B has Shasīgān.

<sup>3</sup> So in K. \* So in K; B has Shapān.

<sup>5</sup> B has Ātūr-pād inserted here by mistake.

' 10. Through the awful displeasure (*or defect*) and ruin (*or injury*) that happened to Zaratûst, son of Âtûr-farnbag, who became the leader of the orthodox, even those archives came to devastation, that scripture to dilapidation and dispersion, *and* the statements (*vâkîh*) also to obsoleteness, perversion, and corruption.

' 11. And, after that, I, Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmêd *and* leader of the orthodox, *have* likewise written, from their fragments (*sûbâragânö*), a new means of giving assistance *to* the Mazda-worshipping religion, with much prayer, investigation, and trouble. 12. From whatever *was* recovered from those dilapidated (*visândakö*), decayed, worn out, and dust-mingled (*khâk-âmêg*) archives—and these, too, brought back by taking away, carrying *off*, and seizing —*it* is selected, owing to<sup>1</sup> the assistance of the counselling wisdom of the mighty spirit, for the rediffusion of the words and deeds of the ancients, and *of* the evidence of the Avesta, for those of the primitive faith. 13. And the increase of knowledge from the good religion, arranged and prescribed in its chapters, is a lustre from encountering that splendour from the enlightenment of the original light primarily composed for the exposition of the good religion, *and* this which is named is a resemblance by adoption *of* the thousand chapters of that great original Dînkard<sup>2</sup>. 14. It is perfected by the sacred beings, *and* transmits the powerful effect which *has* come upon even that which is the perfect religion of the sufferers<sup>3</sup> in *this* age, and also the coming of the assistance of the soul to the knowledge<sup>4</sup> of the orthodox; and even reunion with<sup>5</sup> the rest of Irân is acquaintance *with* the exposition of the Mazda-worshipping religion, and the reproviding of more resources of a like origin, which *will be* also due to those whom the Supreme *has* provided, the disciples of Aûshêdar<sup>6</sup>, son of Zaratûst, for asking again a declaration of<sup>7</sup> the good religion from Aûshêdar.'

From this statement it appears that the compilation of the Dînkard was commenced by Âtûr-farnbag, son of Farukhö-zâd, one of the leaders or supreme high-priests of the Mazda-worshippers, and was revised and completed

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that m stands for min.

<sup>2</sup> Both MSS. have *zak rabâ bûn Dêñô-kardö*.

<sup>3</sup> K has *dêñô-f bûrdârân*.

<sup>4</sup> B has 'arising.'

<sup>5</sup> B has 'and the reunited selection for.'

<sup>6</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 12.

<sup>7</sup> B omits 'a declaration of.'

by Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmêd, one of his successors. From the Mâdigân-i gugastak Abâlis we learn that Âtûr-farnbag had a religious disputation with Abâlis in the presence of the Khalîfah Al-Mâmûn, who reigned A.D. 813–833; he must therefore have been compiling the Dînkard during the first half of the ninth century. In the Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, IV, 107, IX, 3, X, 55, he is also mentioned as a compiler of the Dînkard, but the details there quoted must have been taken from its first two books which are still missing. It is likewise stated at the beginning of both its fourth and fifth books that their contents are derived from his statements, and a similar acknowledgement is made with regard to some of the contents of Chap. CXLII of the third book; so that the evidence of his authorship is very complete. With regard to Âtûrpâd, the completer of the Dînkard, we may safely identify him with the Âtûrpâd, son of Hâmêd, mentioned in Bd. XXXIII, 11 as a contemporary of Zâd-sparam, who flourished at the latter end of the ninth century (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. xiv). We have, therefore, every reason to be satisfied that the whole of the Dînkard was compiled during the ninth century.

The history of the transmission of the text of its last seven books, through the last thousand years, down to the present manuscripts, is equally satisfactory, owing to the preservation of a series of colophons appended to the text, of which the first and most important may be translated as follows:—

‘Completed in great joy and full of gratification this last portion of the manuscript of the incomparable, priceless, and unequalled Dînkard, at the place where it was found and happily disinterred<sup>1</sup> by us in Asûristân, within the happily prosperous, odoriferous, precious, well-thriving, and glorious Bakdâd of Good Rectitude<sup>2</sup>; from a copy which, as regards the religion, is just as the leaders of the saintly and orthodox, who were of the family of the saintly Âtûrpâd, son of Mâraspend, (who re-explained knowledge, by five or six well-destined ones, from the pure revelation

<sup>1</sup> Khûs-kand might be the name of a place here, but cannot be so in the next paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> The angel Aharîsvang (Av. ashis vanguhi).

which is the all-embellished learning of learnings) and the successive leaders of the orthodox (*who* again provided at different times [ahamvâr] for its restoration, through manuscripts at various places, to maintain reading and investigation therein) had written.

'I, Mâh-vindâd, son of Naremâhân, son of Vâhrâm, son of Mitrô-ôpân, like an adopted son for his own possession, who wrote it, am letting it forth on the day Dêñ of the month Tîr, the victor, of the year 369 after the year 20 of that Yazdakard, king of kings, who was son of Shatrô-ayâr [2nd July, 1020]<sup>1</sup>; in reliance on the pure good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, as regards remembrance of Zarafûst, the Spitâmân with the righteous guardian spirit, and of the genuine achievement of Âtûrpâd, son of Mâraspend; and as regards remembrance of the righteous utterance of blessings for the whole embodied existence by the desirers of righteousness, who are thinkers of good thoughts, speakers of good words, and doers of good deeds; in the worldly *existence*, through completely-wishful kind regard of the practices of righteousness, they shall unite with the union of the renovation of the universe, and spiritually their pure souls and guardian spirits attain to the supremely great position and eminence, and complete acquirement of recompense, which are in the light that is endless, constantly beneficial, and full of glory, which they shall obtain. This is especially for those saintly and supremely learned men, Âtûrfarnbag, son of Farukhö-zâd, and Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmûd, by whom this priceless<sup>2</sup> Dînkard scripture was selected so learnedly and (with a pure perception of the spiritual lord, in seizing the cream of the fortunate commentary of<sup>3</sup> the good religion) so truly amicably, and fully affectionately for the good creatures and religion, with great advantage for us moderns, and concealed for me who, through eagerness for righteousness, like an adopted son, have happily disinterred this scripture; and even he who reads, and shall make use of it, is reliant and free from doubt about it; and him who shall take a copy from it, and preserves it with propriety, they shall appropriately connect with it.'

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of this colophon, so far as it is here translated, is also quoted in the second colophon.

<sup>2</sup> Here written ar'gô, but it is an-ar'gô in the second colophon.

<sup>3</sup> Reading dêñ farukhö zand shîr-hâkô-t, but this is doubtful. From this point the whole of the rest of this colophon, including the aphorisms, is also found in K.

(This is followed by a long succession of aphorisms, and the colophon winds up with some threats against those who shall misuse the manuscript.)

As this colophon mentions only the 'last portion' of the *Dînkard*, and is appended to the text of Dk. III-IX, it is probable that the first portion of the work, Dk. I, II, had already become separated from the rest within 150 years of its revision and completion. And if Mâh-vindâd did not copy from the original manuscript of Âtûrpâd, he must certainly have done so from a very early transcript.

The second colophon was written by Shatrô-ayâr, son of Erdishîr, son of Aîrk, son of Rûstâm, son of Aîrk, son of Kubâd, son of Aîrân-shah, who completed his copy on the day Aûharmazd of the month Spendarmad in the year 865 after the 20th year of Yasdakard [3rd October, 1516], having transcribed it from a copy written by Mar'zapân, son of Spend-dâd, son of Mar'zapân, son of Mitrô-âpân, son of Spend-dâd, son of Mitrô-âpân, son of Mar'zapân, son of Dahisn-aiyyâr, son of Rôg-vêh, son of Shâh-mard. The date of Mar'zapân's copy may be approximately fixed by observing that his father's first cousin wrote a copy of AV. and Gf., mentioned in K20, in the year 690 of Yasdakard, while his great great granduncle wrote a similar copy, mentioned in MH6, in the Pârsî year 618. If this Pârsî year be reckoned from the era of the 20th year of Yasdakard, as seems probable<sup>1</sup>, these dates give 52 years for three generations; and Mar'zapân, living one generation later than the writer of A.Y. 690, may perhaps have written his copy of the *Dînkard* about A.Y. 707 [A.D. 1338]; so that there was probably another copyist, intermediate between him and Mâh-vindâd-i Naremâhân, of whom no record has been preserved. Shatrô-ayâr concludes his colophon by quoting a long passage from the first colophon, as already stated in p. xxxiv, n. 1, and by acknowledging his obligations to three other persons whom he names. This colophon is the last that now remains attached to the manuscript B, but it was formerly followed

<sup>1</sup> Observe the use of the phrase 'Pârsî year' in the third colophon and in the manuscript K (see p. xxxviii).

by a third colophon, written by the actual writer of B, and preserved in copies transcribed from B since its arrival in India.

This third colophon was written by Mâh-vindâd, son of Vâhrâm, son of Erdîshîr of Türkâbâd, who completed his copy, from that of Shatrô-ayâr, on the day Avân of the month Khûrdâd in the Pârsî year 1009 after the 20th year of Yazdakard [21st December, 1659, N. S.]. This copy, which constitutes the manuscript B, was afterwards approved by Vâhrâm, son of Mâh-vindâd, son of Rûstâm, son of Anôshak-rûbân, son of Rûstâm of Türkâbâd, who blesses the writer of the second colophon, on the day Tistar of the month Vohûman in the year 1038 of Yasdakard [18th August, 1669, N. S.]. It was also finally seen and approved by Rûstâm, son of Gûstâsp, son of Erdîshîr, who likewise blesses the writer of the second colophon; and the approximate date of this approval may be guessed from the fact that Rûstâm Gûstâsp is known to have copied one manuscript in A.D. 1706, and another in 1741.

Regarding this manuscript B, written in 1659, it appears from Mullâ Firûz's *Avîgék Dîn* (Bombay, 1830) that Mullâ Bahman, son of Mullâ Behrâm, a Parsi priest of Yazd, brought this manuscript of the Dinkard from Irân to Surat in 1783, and, having shown it to Aspandiárji Ratanji-shâh, he lent it to Kâusji Rustamji, then Dastûr of Surat, and allowed him to have it copied. Mullâ Bahman had great difficulty in obtaining the return of his manuscript, and when it was returned many folios were missing. It was after this loss of folios that Aspandiárji had several other copies transcribed from the defective manuscript, to be sent to various persons, and all these copies were therefore equally defective.

This manuscript B, thus defective, afterwards came into the possession of Mullâ Firûz, who was high-priest of the Kadmi Parsis in Bombay; and, after his death in 1830, it descended to his successor. In 1875 it belonged to Dastûr Sohrâbji Rustamji, high-priest of the Kadmis, through whose courtesy, and that of Dastûr Dr. Jâmâspji Minochiharji, it was then lent to me long enough to

enable me to copy and collate two-thirds of Dk. III and to collate Dk. IV-IX; and Dastûr Jâmâspji, afterwards, kindly supplied me with a copy of the remainder of Dk. III.

The manuscript has been bound in its defective state, and contains 322 folios, originally fourteen inches high and ten inches wide, written 20 to 22 lines to the page. When complete it appears to have consisted of 392 folios, all numbered in Persian words, but with several blunders, including one of fifty folios, so that the last folio was really numbered 442. Of the 70 folios not bound with the rest of the manuscript, fourteen were lying loose in the volume; forty-three belonged to Dastûr Rustamji Kaikobâdji of Nausâri, with a copy of which I was kindly supplied by Dastûr Dr. Peshotanji Behramji of Bombay, who also enabled me to collate it with the original folios; and seven folios were lent to me by Dastûr Dr. Hoshangji Jâmâspji of Poona, for the purpose of copying. The remaining six folios have not been discovered; they comprise the first folio of the manuscript, containing the commencement of Dk. III, which was probably lost before the manuscript arrived in India; also one folio in Dk. VII, two in Dk. IX (see pp. 262, 270 of this volume), and the last two folios of the manuscript, containing the third colophon and final approvals (see p. xxxvi).

I am likewise much indebted to the kindness of Professor Kielhorn, who gave me a modern copy of Dk. IV-IX (with the text in its defective state) which had been prepared at Poona, so that it was only necessary to collate this copy with the original text of the manuscript B. With the aid of all this liberal assistance I was enabled to obtain the whole text of the *Dînkard*, known to exist, in the course of a few months; that it has since taken as much as sixteen years to find opportunities for translating and publishing rather more than one-fourth of its contents, will not surprise any one who is acquainted with the nature of the work that had to be done.

The only known manuscript, independent of B, that contains any portion of the *Dînkard*, is the old codex K

brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843, and now No. 43 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Kopenhagen. This codex contains about one-fifth of the text of the *Dînkard* in two detached portions, together with other Pahlavi texts. The first portion occupies fols. 177–261, and comprises Dk. VI, of which one-eighth is missing, with Dk. III, Chaps. CLX and CCLXXXIII, and a colophon, all written in the district of Tûrkâbâd by Mitrô-âpân, son of Anôshak-rûbân, son of Rûstâm, son of Shatrô-ayâr, son of Mâh-vindâd, son of Vâhrâm, son of Gûshisn-ayâr, son of Mitrô-âpân, and completed on the day Gôs of the month Mitrô in the Pârsî year 943 after the 20th year of Yasdakard [10th May, 1594, N. S.]. This copyist appears to have been a great-uncle of the writer who approved the manuscript B in 1669, ten years after it was written; and the original from which he copied was, no doubt, descended from Mâh-vindâd-i Naremâhân's manuscript of 1020, as he appends to his colophon all the latter part of Mâh-vindâd's colophon (see p. xxxiv, n. 3). The second portion of the text of the *Dînkard*, contained in the manuscript K, is written by another hand on 42 additional folios, and comprises the last two chapters of Dk. III, the whole of Dk. V, and the first three-tenths of Dk. IX (as mentioned in p. 172, n. 1, of this volume). This manuscript supplies several short passages in the *Dînkard*, which are omitted by B, especially in the first portion of the text described above. It has also afforded much assistance in the translation of Dk. IX, Chaps. I, 1–XXXI, 17.

Regarding the authorship of the summary account of the Nasks, contained in Dk. VIII, IX, it may be reasonably assumed, in default of any positive information, that the compiler was Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmêd, the last editor of the *Dînkard*. And, as nothing is said about any previous treatise being consulted, it may be safely supposed that he had access to the Avesta texts and Pahlavi versions of all the Nasks he describes, fully three centuries after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia. The only Nask he could not obtain was the *Vastag*, and the Pahlavi version

of the Nâdar was also missing ; under which circumstances, the fully detailed accounts of these two Nasks, given in the Persian Rivâyats, must be viewed with suspicion, until better evidence of their authenticity has been discovered than is at present available.

The survival of so much of the sacred Zoroastrian literature, during three centuries of Muhammadan rule, indicates that the final loss of nearly all this literature was not so directly attributable to the Arabs as the Parsis suppose. So long as a considerable number of the Persians adhered to their ancient religion, they were able to preserve its literature almost intact, even for centuries ; but when, through conversion and extermination, the Mazda-worshippers had become a mere remnant, and then fell under the more barbarous rule of the Tartars, they rapidly lost all their old literature that was not in daily religious use. And the loss may have been as much due to their neglecting the necessary copying of manuscripts, as to any destructiveness on the part of their conquerors ; because the durability of a manuscript written on paper seldom exceeds five or six centuries.

The statements of the *Dînkard*, about the classification and subdivisions of the Nasks, are corroborated and supplemented by those of *Zâd-sparam* (see pp. 401-405). The division of all literature into three classes of knowledge, religious, worldly, and intermediate, is one that would naturally suggest itself to any classifier<sup>1</sup>, but the names employed (which are transcribed from the Avesta, and do not exactly correspond with these three meanings) must have originated at a period when the Avesta language was still spoken. That such a classification cannot be very strictly carried out in practice is already admitted in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 13.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Darmesteter has suggested to me the very similar apportionment of the old Hebrew literature, mentioned in Jeremiah xviii. 18, thus :—‘For the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet.’ And in Ezekiel vii. 26, thus :—‘Then shall they seek a vision of the prophet: but the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients.’

The further division of the literature into twenty-one books, seven in each of the three classes, is a much more artificial arrangement, and can, perhaps, be best explained as an attempt to make the twenty-one words of the Ahunavair serve the purpose of a reminder for enumerating the Nasks in their proper order. This arrangement was probably made at some period when the scattered Avesta literature was being collected and re-arranged, the Pahlavi versions being then supplied, and the present Pahlavi names of the Nasks appointed. This may possibly have been the work of 'composition and preservation' attributed to Ātûr-pâd, son of Mâraspend, in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 22, when 'the Nasks were enumerated' (see Dk. IV, 27, in p. 415), which occurred in the fourth century.

Why the established sequence of the Nasks, detailed in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 12, should differ from the successive sequences of their three classes, given in §§ 9-11, is very imperfectly explained; but some of the reasons for the difference may perhaps be guessed. If the notation proposed in p. 7, n. 3, be adopted, the established sequence is G<sub>2-4</sub>; H<sub>1-7</sub>; G<sub>5</sub>; L<sub>6</sub>; G<sub>7</sub>; L<sub>7</sub>, 1-5; G<sub>6</sub>, 1; in which the only Nasks that are out of their order in the classes are G<sub>1</sub>, 5-7 and L<sub>6</sub>, 7. The placing of G<sub>6</sub>, 1 next after L<sub>5</sub> (that is, the Hâdôkht and Stôd-yast next after the Vendidâd) may perhaps have been owing to the constant use of these three Nasks in the liturgy, in which either the Vendidâd, or the Hâdôkht<sup>1</sup>, was frequently interpolated in the recitation of the Stôd-yast which comprised by far the larger portion of the present Yasna and Vîspêrad. But this position of the Stôd-yast, at the end of the list of Nasks, was probably considered derogatory to its sacred character by most of the writers of the Persian Rivâyats, who have, therefore, restored it to its original place at the head of the Gâthic Nasks. Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 15, states that G<sub>5</sub> was placed after H<sub>7</sub> because the Vastag was connected with the Vistâsp-sâstô, probably by the nature of its contents. And, possibly, the sequence L<sub>6</sub>, G<sub>7</sub>, L<sub>7</sub> of the Kitradâd, Spend, and Bakân-yast, between the Vastag

<sup>1</sup> So long as it was preserved.

and Nîkâdûm, may indicate some similar resemblance of contents ; especially as the contents of the *Kitradâd* and Bakân-yast were so far from being strictly legal that these Nasks were placed in a sub-class by themselves, and the connection of the Spend with the Gâthas appears to have been merely historical. The Persian Rivâyats place the Spend next after the Vastag, thereby bringing the two imperfectly Gâthic Nasks together, as well as the two imperfectly legal ones ; but then they also transpose the Ganabâ-sar-nigad and the Hûspâram, for which there seems to be no justification.

With regard to the names of the Nasks, it is evident that several of the Persian names, used in the Rivâyats, are more or less irreconcileable with the Pahlavi names in the Dînkard, and some others are improbable readings of the Pahlavi forms. In this translation the Pahlavi forms have been followed, as clearly more authentic than the Persian corruptions, and some few of the names have been read differently ; while in other cases the most probable readings have been merely suggested in foot-notes, not on account of the Persian reading being justifiable, but because the evidence for the suggested reading is less complete than would be desirable.

In dealing with this account of the Nasks it is always necessary to remember that the compiler of the Dînkard relies entirely upon their Pahlavi versions, as he states distinctly in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 3 ; he occasionally mentions the Avesta texts, as in Chaps. VI, 1, XII, 1, and it is abundantly evident, to the practised translator, that Avesta phrases often underlie the Pahlavi passages which seem to be quoted at length from the original Nasks, especially in Dk. IX ; but, for some of the details mentioned, there may be no older authority than a Pahlavi commentary, and this should ever be borne in mind by the sceptical critic in search of anachronisms.

Owing to his complete reliance upon the Pahlavi versions, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty whether any particular statement made by the compiler of the Dînkard, was contained in the Avesta text ; his summary, there-

fore, throws little or no satisfactory light upon the origin of that text. A few of the details he mentions (such as those contained in Dk. VIII, Chaps. XIII, 17–20, XLIII, 24 and Dk. IX, Chaps. XXXII, 17, XXXIX, 13–16, LIII, 3) evidently refer to Sasanian times, and may be reasonably supposed to have originated in the Pahlavi versions of those times. But vaguer prophecies of good or evil, such as are common in all religions at all times, may have often occurred in the Avesta texts themselves.

It is evident, however, that all the Nasks have accumulated around the Gâtha centre of the Stôd-yast, and that this Gâtha centre in the earliest Sasanian times was neither more nor less extensive than it is at present. The age of Gâthic composition had so long passed away in the time of the earliest Sasanian monarchs, that the sages whom they appointed to collect and re-arrange the sacred literature; were unable to fully understand many of the stanzas they had to translate into Pahlavi, much less could they have added to their number. How far they may have been able to write ordinary Avesta text is more uncertain, but any such writing was probably confined to a few phrases for uniting the fragments of old Avesta which they discovered, or for interpolating opinions of their own. All such compositions, however, would have been hazardous, as forming no part of their duties, which seem to have been confined to the arrangement of the fragmentary Avesta texts, and their translation into Pahlavi with explanatory comments in that language. It appears from the traditional statements, mentioned in p. 415, that this work was completed, and the Nasks were fully arranged, by Âtûrpâd, son of Mâraspend, in the reign of Shahpûhar II (A. D. 309–379); but the Pahlavi versions were certainly revised, and some further commentaries added, after the suppression of the heresy of Mazdak, as late as the reign of Khûsrô I (A. D. 531–579).

That the Avesta texts themselves were not written, to any great extent, in Sasanian times, is shown by the quantity of Pahlavi commentary necessary to adapt them to the altered circumstances of those times. The Gâthic

Nasks, being strictly religious, required only some explanations, with little extended commentary ; because the religion had to be maintained without sensible modification. Of the Hadha-māthic Nasks we know but little. But the strictly Legal Nasks consisted chiefly of the commentary which is always necessary to adapt ancient laws to modern ideas.

With regard to the mode of describing the Nasks, adopted in the *Dînkard*, it is evident that the compiler intended, in the first place, to give merely a very short account of the general contents of each Nask, to be followed by a detailed statement of the particular contents of each chapter (see Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 23, 24). But, when he had fully carried out this intention with respect to the first three Nasks, his work came to a premature conclusion, which has deprived us of much valuable information regarding the rest of the Nasks. The descriptions of these other Nasks vary in extent, but may be roughly classified as follows :—Of the *Nâdar* and *Vastag* there is no description whatever. Of the *Dâmdâd*, *Radö-dâd-aîtag*, *Kaskîsrôbô*, *Vistâsp-sâstô*, *Bakân-yast*, and *Stôd-yast* the description is very short, averaging 80 Pahlavi words for each. Of the *Pâgag*, *Baris*, *Kitradâd*, *Spend*, and *Hâdôkht* the description is rather longer, averaging 358 Pahlavi words for each ; but, as such a description is still far too brief to be satisfactory, the compiler must have intended to add a detailed account of each chapter of all these Nasks. On coming to the strictly Legal Nasks, however, he adopted a different plan, by giving a much more voluminous statement of the contents of certain selected chapters ; thus the very long description of the *Nîkâdûm*, *Ganabâ-sar-nigad*, *Hûspâram*, and *Sakâdûm* averages 3670 Pahlavi words for each. This change of plan is somewhat modified in the case of the *Vendîdâd*, where the description of 1272 Pahlavi words is only moderately long. While the first three Nasks, the *Sûdkar*, *Varstmânsar*, and *Bakö*, after a very short description averaging 65 Pahlavi words for each, are again described in detail, as already mentioned, to the average extent of 8647 Pahlavi words for each.

From these descriptions, and their connection with certain Avesta texts and Pahlavi writings, it is now possible to form a more or less adequate conception of the contents of Nasks I-IV, X, XIII-XIX, XXI, and also some idea of those of Nasks VI, XII; but the accounts of the remaining six Nasks, most of which belonged to the Hadha-māthic or scientific class, are very unsatisfactory.

With reference to the total extent of the Nasks, when they were all extant, it is obvious that the length of descriptions, drawn up on the same plan, ought to bear approximately some definite proportion to the lengths of text described; so that, if the extent of the text of one Nask be known, and the proportion it bears to the length of its description be ascertained, this proportion becomes a rough means of estimating the probable extent of other Nasks, from the length of their descriptions drawn up on the same plan. Three years ago an attempt was made<sup>1</sup> to estimate the total extent of the Nasks in this way, based upon the assumptions that the Nasks still extant were three in number, that the length of the description of the Vendidād was a fair average one for estimating the extent of Pahlavi version in all the lost Nasks, and that the proportion of Avesta text to Pahlavi version in the Nirangistān was also a fair average for estimating the extent of their Avesta texts. These assumptions were carefully made, as the least liable to objection, and the total extent of the Nasks in Sasanian times, thus estimated, amounted to 133,000 words of Avesta text and 844,000 of Pahlavi version.

Since the completion of the translation of Dk. IX it has, however, become possible to estimate the probable extent of the first three Nasks from the proportion between the actual extent of the first three fargards of the Bakō (Yas. XIX-XXI) and the length of their description. It has also been thought no longer reasonable to neglect the actual length of the Nirangistān as a basis for estimating the extent of the Pahlavi versions of the strictly Legal Nasks XV-

<sup>1</sup> In the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1888, pp. 441, 442.

XVIII; and the Bakān-yast has been identified with the Yasts still extant<sup>1</sup>. These additional considerations have led to a new estimate of the probable extent of each Nask separately, based upon the best data available in each case, as stated in detail in the foot-notes to the names of the Nasks in the Extant Fragments (pp. 451–488 of this volume). These estimates are here collected, for the sake of convenient reference, as follows:—

			Avesta.	Pahlavi.
G <sub>2</sub> : Nask	1. Sūdkar . . . .	4,700 words	10,500	
„ 3	2. Varstmânsar . . . .	8,300 „	18,500	
„ 4	3. Bakō . . . .	9,500 „	21,200	
H <sub>1</sub>	4. Dâmdâd . . . .	8,900 „	29,300	
„ 2	5. Nâdar . . . .	6,800 „	22,200	
„ 3	6. Pâgag . . . .	9,100 „	29,800	
„ 4	7. Radö-dâd-aîtag . . .	10,500 „	34,300	
„ 5	8. Baris . . . .	4,400 „	14,600	
„ 6	9. Kaskîsrôbô . . . .	5,500 „	17,900	
„ 7	10. Vistâsp-sâstô . . . .	2,200 „	7,200	
G <sub>5</sub>	11. Vastag . . . .	8,900 „	18,400	
L <sub>6</sub>	12. Kitradâd . . . .	2,600 „	23,400	
G <sub>7</sub>	13. Spend . . . .	9,900 „	20,500	
L <sub>7</sub>	14. Bakân-yast . . . .	22,000 „	44,000	
„ 1	15. Nikâdûm . . . .	62,600 „	562,900	
„ 2	16. Ganabâ-sar-nigad . . .	28,000 „	251,500	
„ 3	17. Hûspâram . . . .	44,900 „	403,600	
„ 4	18. Sakâdûm . . . .	53,000 „	476,600	
„ 5	19. Vendidâd . . . .	23,000 „	48,000	
G <sub>6</sub>	20. Hâdôkht . . . .	8,400 „	17,400	
„ 1	21. Stôd-yast . . . .	12,500 „	22,400	
Total extent of 21 Nasks		345,700	2,094,200	

This total is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as great as that of the former estimate, but, as nearly the whole of this increase is in the four strictly Legal Nasks, whose length is well attested by that of the extant Nîrangistân, there is little probability that further investigation will lead to any re-

<sup>1</sup> This had been done, long ago, in a Persian Rivâyat, quoted in B29, fol. 164, which states that the following sixteen Yasts were in the Bayân-yast Nask, namely, the Hôrmezd, Âbân, Mâh, Tîr, Gôs, Mihir, Srôsh, Rashn, Fravardîn, Bahîrâm, Râm, Dîn, Âshasang, Âstâd, Zamyâd, and Khurshêd Yasts.

duction of this estimate. No probable alteration of the estimate of the extent of the Hadha-mâthic Nasks, which is the most uncertain, would materially affect the total.

Another matter of interest to the readers of translations from the Pahlavi, especially to those who are aware of the ambiguities of the original text, is the degree of confidence they can place in the correctness of the translation. In the case of the *Dînkard* it is fortunately possible to consult manuscripts written in Persia, and descended through only four or five intermediate copies from the work of the original writer, so that the text is remarkably free from copyists' errors. The eighth and ninth books also contain very few of those involved sentences, with long parenthetical clauses, which, owing to the habitual absence or misplacement of stops, are very perplexing to a translator. The chief difficulties of the text arise from its synoptical character, and the consequent want of connection between its sentences; there being often too little context to define the meaning of a doubtful word. The number of words of doubtful meaning in Pahlavi is, however, fast diminishing, in proportion to the advancing study of the texts; and the certainty of a translator, as to the correctness of his work, is increasing in a like proportion. At any rate, the reader may safely rely upon the general accuracy of these translations, even if a few errors should hereafter be discovered.

As an instance of such possible errors I will here correct one that exists in my translation of the Epistles of Mânû-skhâr, which was pointed out to me by Môbad Tehmuras Dinshawji Ankalesaria, in a letter dated 28th October, 1887. In Ep. II, ii, 9-11, there occurs an illustration of what should be done when commentators differ, derived from the use that can be made of different observations of the stars, and containing three names that were difficult to identify. These names were doubtfully read as corruptions of the names of three of the lunar mansions, but it now appears that they were the names of three sets of astronomical tables (*zîk*); so that Shatru-ayârân, Hindûk, and Ptolemêôs should be read, instead of Satvâharân, Avénak, and Padramgôs; both sets of readings expressing the same

Pahlavi letters. With these alterations the passage may be translated as follows :—

Ep. II, ii, 9. ‘And there may be a position of the stars, *settled even by computers of the stars*, when they would take that of the sun and moon from the tables of Shatro-ayâr, that of Saturn from the Hindû tables, and that of Mars from the tables of Ptolemy, *and the position comes out very good, and they are able to speak of the maturity of strength undoubtedly brought on.* 10. That this is to be seen as an occurrence is a conjunction which is not possible; because, if the tables of Shatro-ayâr *be exact*, yet, since its Saturn and Mars are not from the tables, the effect is not a good configuration; if the Hindû tables *be correct*, yet, since its sun, moon, and Mars are not from those tables, the effect is not good; *and if the tables of Ptolemy be correct*, yet, since its sun, moon, and Saturn are not from those tables, the effect is not good; on account of which the conjunction is not correct in any way; they believe *it* possible, however, for a firm mind to accomplish this auspicious labour. 11. But they say the just and wise *are* making the decision that this would be a very good position, because that which is in the tables of Shatro-ayâr is truly issuing from him, the great Shatro-ayâr; *and that of Shatro-ayâr, being better through the tables of Ptolemy, remains that employed.*’

In conclusion, it is desirable to make some remarks upon the transliteration of Pahlavi, because it is necessary to express not only the various sounds of the letters of a very deficient alphabet, but also the mode of writing several abbreviated compounds which are quite as essential to the correct orthography of Pahlavi as the forms of the separate letters themselves. For this purpose italics are used to indicate not only a few differences of sound from the usual English pronunciation of consonants, but also different letters having the same sound, and letters abbreviated in the writing of compounds. When the abbreviated letter is already italicised, the preceding short vowel (which is not expressed in Pahlavi writing) is also italicised to indicate the abbreviation, or an apostrophe is introduced between the two consonants when no short vowel sound intervenes. Hyphens are used both to connect the components of compound words, which are often written

separately, and also to separate words that are written together in Pahlavi. The application of these rules will be best understood by reference to the following list of transliterations which have been found necessary:—

## ALPHABET.

« a ( <i>initial</i> ), â, h, kh, sd.	» or چ s, ɔ + ɔ.
ڙ z, a ( <i>privative</i> ), aē, aē̄ (final), h (final).	چ s, sh, ɔ + ɔ, g-a.
ڦ b.	ڻ gh.
ڦ f, p, v.	ڻ k.
ڻ d, t.	ڻ m.
ڦ g, k, z.	ڻ l, n, ð, ð, r, ð, v.
ڦ l, r.	ڻ l, r.
ڦ z.	ڻ d, ð, g, g, g, ð, i, y.

## IRREGULAR COMPOUNDS.

چ ayâ.

چ (« + چ, or « + ڦ) aēk, af, ag, ap, av, az, ðf, ðg, ðk, ðp, ðv, ðz, haf, hak, hap, haz, khēf, khēk, khēs.

ڪ âñ.

ڙ ڙ, aē, aē̄ (final), êh (final).

چ adîn, dîdû (better bîdû).

ڦ lp, rag, raz, r'g, rp, r'z.

چ dîf, dîp, gîf, sag, sak, sap, sig, sip, sp.

چ s'k, yâf, yâv.

ڦ m-ë.

چ dag, d-k, ðg, ðk, gag, gak, gug, ðk, ðv, ðz, yaz, yaz.

چ dêñ (better bêñ), yêñ.

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

A.D. for Anno Domini; Âf. for Âfrîngân; Ar. for Arabic; AV. for Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak, ed. Hoshangji and Haug, 1872; Av. for Avesta; A.Y. for Anno Yazdakard; B for Bombay MS. of Dînkard, written in Irân, A.D. 1659, see pp. xxxv–xxxvii; B<sub>29</sub> for MS. No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay; Bd. for Bundahis, as translated in vol. v of this series; Bk. for Book; B.P. for Bahman Pûngyah, see p. 418, n. 3; Byt. for Bahman Yast, as translated in vol. v of this series; Ch. or Chald. for Chaldee; Chap. for chapter; Dd. for Dâzistân-î Dînik, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Dk. for Dînkard; Dv. for Dînvigird; ed. for edited by or edition; Ep. for Epistles of Mânûsâîhar, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Farh. Oîm. for Farhang-i Oîm-aêvak, or Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, ed. Hoshangji and Haug, 1867; fol. for folio; G for gâthic; Gah. for Gahanbâr or Gâhanbâr; Gen. for Genesis; gen. for genitive; Gesch. der Sas. for Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, 1879; Gf. for tale of Gôst-î Fryânô, ed. West and Haug, 1872; Gld. for Geldner; H for hadha-mâthric; Haug's Essays for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by M. Haug, 2nd ed.; Hn. for Hâdökht Nask, ed. Haug, 1872; Ibid. for ibidem; J<sub>2</sub> for Jâmâspji's Yasna MS. with Pahlavi, now in the Bodleian Library, by the same copyist as K<sub>5</sub>; K for Kopenhagen MS. No. 43, written A.D. 1594, see pp. xxxvii–viii; K<sub>1</sub>, K<sub>5</sub>, K<sub>20</sub>, K<sub>35</sub> for Iranian MSS. Nos. 1, 5, 20, 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; L for legal; l. for line; ll. for lines; Mf<sub>4</sub> for the Mullâ Firuz Library's Yasna MS. with Pahlavi, descended from an ancestor of K<sub>5</sub>; MH<sub>6</sub>, MH<sub>10</sub> for MSS. Nos. 6, 10 of Haug's Collection in the State Library at Munich; Mkh. for Dînâ-î Mafnâg-î Khirad, as translated in vol. xxiv of this series; MS. for manuscript; n. for foot-note; N.S. for new style; Ny. for Nyâyis; O<sub>225</sub> for MS. No. 225 of Ouseley's Collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; OM for Olshausen and Möhl's Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre; p. for page; Pahl.

for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; pp. for pages; Pt<sub>4</sub> for Peshotanji's Yasna MS. with Pahlavi, similar to Mf<sub>4</sub>; Riv. for Rivâyat; S.B.E. for Sacred Books of the East; Sd. and Sg. for Sad-dar and *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, as translated in vol. xxiv of this series; Sîr. for Sîrôzah; Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, as translated in vol. v of this series; Sp. for Spiegel; Vend. for Vendîdâd; Vig. for Vigirkard-i Dînîk, ed. Peshotan, Bombay, 1848; Vîsp. for Vîspêrad; vol. for volume; W. or Westerg. for Westergaard; Yas. for Yasna; Yt. for Yast; ZA. for Zend Avesta; Zs. for Selections of Zâd-sparam, as translated in vol. v of this series.

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# CONTENTS OF THE NASKS

AS STATED IN

THE EIGHTH AND NINTH BOOKS

OF THE

DÍNKARD.

## OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is chiefly responsible, as the stops found in the manuscripts are not used systematically.
2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.
3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume), or certain abbreviated modes of writing Pahlavi letters, for which see the remarks on Pahlavi transliteration near the end of the Introduction. Italic *a*, *ā*, *d*, *e*, *ē*, *h*, *i*, *ī*, *kh*, *l*, *p*, *r*, *sh*, *u*, *v*, *zd* indicate no change of pronunciation; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *s* like *sh*, and Avesta *z* like French *j*.
4. In the translation words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those that precede them.
5. For the meaning of the abbreviations, used in the notes, see the explanatory list after the Introduction.
6. The manuscripts used, being the only two independent authorities for the text of the *Dînkard* known to exist, are:—  
*B* (written A.D. 1659), a nearly-complete MS. of Books III–IX, brought from Irân to Surat in 1783, and now divided between three, or more, owners in Bombay, Nawsârî, and Poona. Of the Books here translated two folios are missing, which contained portions of Bk. IX, Chaps. XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI, XXXVII.  
*K* (written A.D. 1594 and later), No. 43 in the University Library at Kopenhagen, a miscellaneous MS. containing several fragments of Books III, V, VI, IX. Of the Books here translated it contains the text of Bk. IX, Chaps. I, 1–XXXI, 17.

## CONTENTS OF THE NASKS.

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### DÎNKARD.—BOOK VIII.

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#### CHAPTER I.

1. Praise for Aûharmazd, and obeisance to the Mazda-worshipping religion which is the ordinance of Aûharmazd opposed to the demons.

2. The eighth book is the present (latamman) memorandum about a summary of what is in the Nasks of the Mazda-worshipping religion, each separately. 3. That which is within the compass (shâd-aûrvân) of this book, about the account of the good religion, is a writing for the information of the many, and an announcement from the commentary (zand)—that which is in explanation of revelation (dêñô)—which, for this simple (pâdram) high-priest, is in itself the writing of the voice of revelation<sup>1</sup>.

4. But, before that, is a writing<sup>2</sup> of the usage about the divisions (bangisnô) of the reckoning of the Mazda-worshipping revelation, also the parts (bâhar) of its divisions, and the sections (burînakô) of the parts; and the exposition of the account—

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<sup>1</sup> The author means that he derives his information about the contents of the Nasks entirely from their Pahlavi versions which, so far as he is concerned, are of equal authority with the Avesta text.

<sup>2</sup> This introductory chapter.

which, though very condensed, is in its division—is *also* condensed in the parts of its division, and more diffuse in the sections of the parts. 5. The divisions of the reckoning of the Macda-worshipping revelation are three :—Gâthas which are the higher spiritual knowledge *and* spiritual duty; Law which is lower<sup>1</sup> worldly knowledge and worldly duty; and the Hadha-mâthric which are mostly information and matters about what is between these two<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Or ‘mostly,’ if we read *avîrtar*, instead of *asîrtar*, as is done in the next clause of this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> The three Pahlavi terms are gâsânô, dâd, and hâdak-mânsarîk. Of these dâd evidently means ‘law,’ because the Dâdik Nasks are chiefly devoted to legal matters (see Chaps. XVI–XLIV); and gâsânô appears to mean ‘gâthas’ rather than ‘verses,’ because the first Gâsânîk Nask contained the Gâtha texts (see Chap. XLVI), the next three were commentaries upon the Gâthas (see Chaps. II–IV and Bk. IX, Chaps. II–LXVIII), and the remaining three, so far as we are informed, were devoted to religious matters, but we have no reason to suppose that any of them were metrical, except the Gâthas themselves. The exact meaning of hâdak-mânsarîk is less clear; it is derived from Av. hadha-mâthra, ‘provided with spells, or inspired words,’ a term applied to Zaratûst in Vîsp. XIII, 1 and also to the Mâthra-spenta, or liturgy, in a phrase (see Westerg. Z. A., p. 485) which is appointed to be used in certain parts of the liturgy whenever the Vistâsp Yast (a remnant of the last Hadha-mâthric Nask) is recited; just as another phrase, referring to the Law, is appointed to be used in the same places whenever the Vendîdâd (one of the Dâdik Nasks) is recited. In what sense the Hadha-mâthric Nasks can be said to be ‘provided with spells’ is not clear from the details given in Chaps. V–XI, but, practically, the meaning of the term must be something like ‘semi-religious,’ being applied to philosophy and science which are neither strictly religious nor strictly secular.

The same three terms were applied to the three classes of mankind, probably the priests, philosophers, and laity; a classification analogous to that of the three professions, the priests, warriors, and husbandmen, but not quite identical with it, as may be gathered from a passage in the sixth book of the Dînkard. This book is

6. And the reason of the triple division of the reckoning of revelation is the exposition of all knowledge *and* duty, and the kinds of knowledge and action *in* the same revelation are these three that have been written. 7. Also in the Ahunavair<sup>1</sup>, which

'about an epitome, composed *and* preserved by those of the primitive faith, concerning the statements of the religion of Mazdaworship ;' and its statements are introduced by the following words :—' Those of the primitive faith, who *were* the sages of the ancients, considered thus, &c.' Near the middle of the book the following passage occurs :—' And this, too, *was* considered by them thus, that these are the three species of mankind :—One is the Gâthic, one the Hadha-mâthric, *and* one the Dâzîk. The association (*hamîh*) of him who is Gâthic is with the sacred beings, *and his* severance (*vîgî-aîtâgîh*) from the demons *and* fiends ; the extent of *his* wealth is due to members of the community and religious feasts (*dâhm va-sûr*), and the punishment for the sin which he may commit is shame and is invisible. The association of him who is Hadha-mâthric is with the righteous, and his severance from the wicked ; also the extent of his wealth is that which may be produced virtuously, and the punishment for the sin he shall commit is the goad, or scourge (see Chap. XLIV, 65 n) ; also noxious creatures *for* the body, and compensating the destitute. And the association of him who is Dâzîk is with Irânians, and his severance from foreigners ; also the extent of his wealth is due to affairs that it is possible to accomplish lawfully, *and* the punishment for the sin which he shall commit is *for* the lifetime of a fowl (*kûk*), the day of a demon.'

<sup>1</sup> This information seems to be taken from the first fargard of the Sûdkar Nask (see Bk. IX, Chap. II, 19). The Ahunavair (Av. ahuna vairyâ) is the name of the most sacred formula of the Parsis, derived from its second and third words ; it is also called the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, from its first phrase, and is a declaratory statement in metre, consisting of one stanza of three lines, containing twenty-one Avesta words, as follows :—

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratus ashâd-kîd ha kâ,  
Vangheus dazdâ mananghô shyaothananâm angheus mazdâi,  
Khshathrem kâ ahurâi â, yim drigubyô dadad vâstârem.

The usual Pahlavi version of this formula explains it as follows :—

is the basis of the reckoning of revelation, are three metrical lines (*gâs*) ; the first chiefly indicates the Gâthic lore, the second the Hadha-mâthric lore, and the third the Law.

8. And there have been twenty-one parts<sup>1</sup> of its divisions, which are called Nasks :—(9) Seven are Gâthic, because they are composed for the Gâthas,

'As is the will of the spiritual lord (as is the will of Aûharmazd) so should be the priestly master (so virtuous should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as virtuous as the will of Aûharmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward and recompense that good thought gives, it gives also unto him) which, among spiritual lords, is the work of Aûharmazd (that is, he would do that which Aûharmazd requires) : [there are *some* who would say thus : Whose gift is for good thought (that is, the reward and recompense which they give for good thought, they give also unto him) ; and there are *some* who would say thus : Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward and recompense which they give up through good thought, they would also give even him) ; Aûrpâd, son of Zarâstîr, said thus : Owing to the gift of good thought, among spiritual lords, they recognise a doer of deeds]. The dominion for Aûharmazd is his (that is, his dominion exists through the advantage that Aûharmazd has maintained) who gives allotments (*vâyagânô*) to the poor (that is, he would make intercession for them).'

The Avesta text may be translated, according to Haug, as follows :—'As a spiritual lord is desirable, so is a priestly master, for the sake of every righteousness, *to be* a giver of good thoughts as to the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord whom he (*Mazda*) has given as a protector for the poor.'

According to Geldner the first two lines refer to Zarâstîr, and, if we assume that *yim* is a contraction of *yô ïm*, the Avesta text may be translated somewhat as follows :—'As *he* is the desirable spiritual lord, so *is he* the priestly master with every right, the producer of the actions of the good thoughts of life towards Mazda. The dominion, however, is for Ahura who has given him as a protector for the poor.'

<sup>1</sup> See §§ 18, 19.

and their names<sup>1</sup> are that of the ritual of the Gâthic worship, which is the *Stôd-yast*, *with* the Sûdkar, Varstmânsar, Bakö, Vastag, Hâdôkht, and that which has made them Gâthic<sup>2</sup>, the Spend. 10. And the names of the seven Hadha-mâthric are Dâm-dâd, Nâdar, Pâgag, Radö-dâd-aîtag, Baris, Kaskîsrôbô, *and* Vistâsp-sâstô. 11. *And* seven are Legal, because they are composed for the lawyer (dâdik), and their names are those of the legal, and those are the Nikâdûm, Ganabâ-sar-nigad, Hûspâram, Sakâdûm, and Vendidâd, and those which are composed for the law with separate dedications, the Kitradâd and Bakân-yast. 12. And the sequence is Sûdkar, Varst-mânsar, Bakö, Dâm-dâd, Nâdar, Pâgag, Radö-dâd-aîtag, Baris, Kaskîsrôbô, Vistâsp-sâstô, Vastag, Kitradâd, Spend, Bakân-yast, Nikâdûm, Ganabâ-sar-nigad, Hûspâram, Sakâdûm, Vendidâd, Hâdôkht, and Stôd-yast<sup>3</sup>.

13. In all three *divisions* all three are *found*; in the Gâthic are the Hadha-mâthric and Legal, in the Hadha-mâthric are the Gâthic and Legal, and in the Legal are the Gâthic and Hadha-mâthric.

<sup>1</sup> For variants of these names, in the order stated in § 12, see the notes to the first sections of Chaps. II-XVI, XXI, XXVIII, XXXVIII, XLIV-XLVI, which begin the summary description of each of the twenty-one Nasks.

<sup>2</sup> Referring probably to 'the bestowal of the other Nasks' mentioned in Chap. XIV, 5.

<sup>3</sup> This is the order in which the twenty-one words of the Ahunavair are applied to the twenty-one Nasks, as hinted in § 19; and, therefore, the order in which they ought to be enumerated. Representing the three divisions of the Nasks by G, H, L, respectively, and the seven Nasks in each division by the ciphers 1-7, the order of enumeration is as follows:—G 2-4; H 1-7; G 5; L 6; G 7; L 7, 1-5; G 6, 1. More or less fanciful reasons for this dislocation of the divisions are given in §§ 15-17.

14. In each separately that which is essentially and specially itself is included, and that which is partly another and introduced is included; and the reason of it is *that* in spiritual and worldly *existences*, and in worldly and spiritual *existences*, and in that which is between the two, *there are both existences*.

15. The occurrence of the joining of the Vastag part of the Gâthas on to the last of the Hadhamâthric<sup>1</sup> is because *it* is written in connection with the Vistâsp-sâstô, the last of the Hadha-mâthric.

16. The reason of the Hâdôkht and Yast *being* in succession to the Vendidâd, the last of the Law<sup>2</sup>, and 'the production of the worldly creation'<sup>3</sup> *being* between the Hadha-mâthric *and* those spiritual Gâthas, is because the spiritual *existence* likewise, which is spiritual life (ahvô), is the beginning; and the worldly *existence* is purposed and caused, and a part is preserved (nôsti-aítô), important for the purpose and intended for the spiritual life, the part at the beginning. 17. And the rejoining of the end of the Law, which is *about* the Hôm<sup>4</sup>, to the Gâthas, which are the beginning,

<sup>1</sup> That is, the placing of G 5 after H 7.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the placing of G 6, 1 after L 5. The Vendidâd appears to be the last of the truly legal Nasks, as the contents of the Kitradâd (see Chap. XIII) appear to have been chiefly historical, and those of the Bakân-yast (see Chap. XV) chiefly religious. These two Nasks are also placed in a sub-class in § 11.

<sup>3</sup> This Dahisnö-î-stih-dâdö is evidently another name for the Dâmdâd, or 'the creatures produced,' which is placed between G 2-4 and H 2-7.

<sup>4</sup> Written Hîm in Pâzand, for Hûm; and referring to the white Hôm, mentioned in Pahl. Vend. XX, 17, 21, and its healing properties. It is not absolutely necessary to understand from the text that the twentieth fargard was literally the end of the Vendidâd in Sasanian times, because Chap. XLIV, 81 is quite as descriptive of the twenty-second as of the twentieth fargard.

is a symbol of the existence of the pure influence of the Gâthic lore upon the first spiritual state—that *which* exists likewise at last—and of the rejunction of the worldly existence to the spiritual, because it came down from the spiritual to exist at present.

18. And the reason of the twenty-one-fold partition of the three divisions of the reckoning of revelation is in the distinction which is evident from *their* composition; also in the three metrical lines of the Ahunavair, which is the basis of the reckoning of revelation, there are twenty-one words (*mârik*). 19. As the three metrical lines of the Ahunavair, which is the basis of the reckoning of revelation, are an emblem of the triple division of the reckoning of revelation; so the twenty-one words of the three *lines* indicate the twenty-one-fold partition of these three divisions; as *it* is declared that ‘He who is the omniscient creator produced a discourse from every single word.’

20. *As to* the sections of the parts, such as the Hâs and Fargards<sup>1</sup> in the Nasks, *it* is known *there* were one thousand<sup>2</sup>, from the testimony *and* knowledge of the religion owing to the teaching of Zarâtûst—*whose* guardian spirit is reverenced—in the country of Irân. 21. And after the devastation occurred, owing to the evil-destined *and* raging villain Alexander, *there* was not so much of them

<sup>1</sup> The term Hâ (hâd, Av. hâiti) is applied to the chapters of the Yasna, and the term Fargard' (Av. fra+kereta) to the chapters of the Vendîdâd and most of the other Nasks.

<sup>2</sup> Combining the information given in the Persian Rivâyats with that in the Dînkard we find only 905 chapters enumerated, of which 180 are said to have been lost, from the philosophical Nasks, during the Greek rule.

recovered as would be possible for a high-priest to preserve<sup>1</sup>. 22. And that which the saintly (hû-fravardö) Âtûr-pâd<sup>2</sup>, son of Mâraspend, achieved through their composition and preservation, is known so far as the decrees (*kakö*) in the treatises (*mâdîgân*) of the country of Irân are preserved as teaching and admonition (*pandânö*).

23. After writing of each separate Nask, that is, as to what it speaks about more particularly<sup>3</sup>, each Nask is accounted for separately, and what is in its various Hâs and Fargâds comes to be realized<sup>4</sup>; for in these particulars (*mâdîgân*) any ruggedness of the auspicious<sup>5</sup> and desirable collection is explained. 24. But, first, the class of writing of the various Nasks—that is, about what they speak—is here written; the extent of attainment not being adapted to *their* peculiarity of wonderfulness.

## CHAPTER II.

1. Homage to the glory of the good religion of Mazda-worship!

2. The Sûdkar<sup>6</sup> contains particulars about the

<sup>1</sup> Probably meaning not more than a high-priest could retain in his memory.

<sup>2</sup> A supreme high-priest who was prime minister of king Shah-pâhar II (A.D. 309-379).

<sup>3</sup> In this eighth book of the Dînkard.

<sup>4</sup> In the more detailed statements in the ninth book.

<sup>5</sup> Reading hûskûngûn, but it may be khûskûnñö, 'beneficent,' or *anasikôن-gûn*, 'unconfusing.'

<sup>6</sup> Corresponding to the first word, *yathâ*, in the Ahunavair, according to the Persian *Rivâyat* of Bahman Pûngyah, which adopts the sequence detailed in Chap. I, 12. All other Persian *Rivâyats* and also the Dînî-vigirkard adopt the sequence G 1-4; H 1-7;

power of the pure glorifying of the first utterance of Aûharmazd<sup>1</sup>, through thinking, speaking, and acting; and *about* abstaining from the law of very evil *and* very disturbing people<sup>2</sup>. 3. Glorifying the observances (*hûnarânö*) *and* good works of the good religion *and* of a like nature, as well as their effectualness; and condemning the faults and sin *of* him *of* very evil religion, when all kinds of neglect of the spiritual ceremony and *of* care for the archangel of the worldly existence are owing to him<sup>3</sup>; *also* much information about spiritual matters. 4. It *has* become old (*kahûnî*<sup>4</sup>), and is a witness whose statement *extends* even unto the renovation *of the universe*<sup>5</sup>.

### 5. Righteousness is perfect excellence<sup>6</sup>.

G 5, 7; L 6, 7, 1, 3, 2, 4, 5; G 6. Like most of the names of the Nasks, Sûdkar is an adjective, meaning ‘causing benefit, or acting beneficially;’ it is corrupted into Stûdgar, or Istûdgar, in the Rivâyats and Dv. For a detailed account of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargards see Bk. IX, Chaps. II–XXIII.

<sup>1</sup> The Ahunavair, or Yathâ ahû vairyô, which Aûharmazd recited before the creation in order to confound Aharman (see Bd. I, 21, 22). This clause refers chiefly to the first fargard of the Sûdkar (see Bk. IX, Chap. II).

<sup>2</sup> Referring to Bk. IX, Chaps. V, IX, X, &c.

<sup>3</sup> See Bk. IX, Chap. IX.      <sup>4</sup> See Bk. IX, Chap. XXIII, 7.

<sup>5</sup> The text is aharâyîh âzâdîh pâhlûm aîtô, the Pahl. equivalent of the Av. ashem vohû vahistem astî, ‘righteousness is the best good,’ the first metrical line of the Ashem-vohû formula, with which it is usual to conclude forms of prayer and religious writings. It is here used to conclude the account of each of the twenty-one Nasks, and twice over at the end of the last one, so that it occurs twenty-two times in this eighth Book. In the ninth Book it concludes the account of each fargard of the three Nasks detailed, and is written twice at the end of the second Nask, and twice at the end of the Book; so that it occurs in three series of 22, 24, and 24 repetitions, respectively, in the ninth Book. As the formula,

## CHAPTER III.

1. The Varstmânsar<sup>1</sup> contains particulars about the birth of Zaratûst, his attaining the religion<sup>2</sup>, and whatever is on the same subject<sup>3</sup>. 2. A notice (*numâd*) of the priestliness, discipleship, spiritual lordship, priestly authority, and steadfastness which are in his original more concise words of the Gâthas<sup>4</sup>. 3. The explanation (*zand*) of the statements about everything and also the good arrangement (*khus-râdakö*) are such as that which *one* speaks of thus : —‘*It is* the Varstmânsar which has given forth an exposition upon *everything*.’ 4. So that, in the Varstmânsar, something is said about *everything* that is mentioned in the Gâthas.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

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which is thus repeated, consists of four words, it is capable of  $1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 = 24$  permutations in the order of its words ; and it appears as if the author intended that each of the four series of repetitions of the formula, contained in the two Books, should give all these permutations successively; and, with the exception of a few deviations (chiefly in the first two series, and probably due to the errors of copyists), he has maintained this fanciful peculiarity throughout. The English translations of the formula have been varied, so as to preserve this peculiarity to some extent, but it has not been found possible to differentiate the whole of the twenty-four permutations.

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to the second word, *ahû*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the third Nask in other Rivâyats. Varstmânsar means ‘used as spells, or employed as liturgy,’ and is often corrupted into Vahist-mântrah in the Rivâyats. For a detailed account of the contents of each of its twenty-three fargard’s see Bk. IX, Chaps. XXIV–XLVI.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. IX, Chap. XXIV.

<sup>3</sup> This final phrase is often used for unspecified details, and may be considered as equivalent to *et cetera*.

<sup>4</sup> See Bk. IX, Chap. XXV.

## CHAPTER IV.

1. The Bakō<sup>1</sup> contains particulars about the division of the recital of the first saying of revelation<sup>2</sup>, the first creature<sup>3</sup> in that saying, the first occurrence of it, the adaptation of the creature, and the greatness of that saying which is incorporating the creature, owing thereto; also, especially, the intermingling of thought (*mēd*)<sup>4</sup> with it. 2. Very comprehensive knowledge about everything, each separately its own offspring, and many an appendage as much connected with it as that which is said concerning the Bakō<sup>5</sup>, that 'the Bakō of the community (*dāhmān*) is heard where it is spoken for the community,' that is, whoever shall do this good work, for him this good work *will* be done.

3. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

## CHAPTER V.

1. Amid the Dāmdād<sup>6</sup> are particulars about the maintenance of action and the production of the

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to the third word, *vairyō*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fourth Nask in other Rivāyats. Bakō means 'subdivision, or apportionment,' and is written Bagh, or Bagh-ast, in the Rivāyats. For a detailed account of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargards see Bk. IX, Chaps. XLVII-LXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> The Ahunavair (see Chap. II, 2 and Bk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 3).

<sup>3</sup> The Ahū, or 'spiritual lord,' who is the first creature mentioned in the Ahunavair (see Bk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 4).

<sup>4</sup> Av. *maiti*, Pāz. *mit* in Bk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 5, the Av. *manas* of Yas. XIX, 29 (Sp.).

<sup>5</sup> This section is an extreme condensation of the contents of Bk. IX, Chaps. XLVIII-LXVIII.

<sup>6</sup> Corresponding to the fourth word, *athā*, in the Ahunavair,

beneficial creatures. 2. First, as to the spiritual existence, and how much *and* how is the maintenance in the spiritual *existence*; and the production of the worldly *existence* therefrom, qualified *and* constructed for descending (*fitôdan*) into the combat with the destroyer, and accomplishing the associated necessity for the end and circumvention (*garang*) of destructiveness.

3. The manner *and* species of the creation of the creatures; also their material *existence*, and the character and use of the races and species; and whatever is on the same subject. 4. The reason for *their* creation, and for *their* perfection at last. 5. About the adversity, injury, and misery of those creatures, and their secret (*nîhôn*) resources *and* means of attacking *and* annihilating *them*; with the preservation *or* disablement (*apîkârñidân*) of the creatures thereby<sup>1</sup>.

6. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect excellence.

according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fifth Nask in other Rivâyats. Dâmdâd means 'the creatures produced,' and it is called Dvâz-dah-hâmâst (or humâst) in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained thirty-two kardah, or subdivisions. No further particulars of this and the subsequent Nasks are given by the Dinkard, beyond the contents of this eighth Book.

<sup>1</sup> So far as this brief account of the Dâmdâd goes, it corresponds very well with much of the contents of the Bundahis. Zâd-sparam, in his Selections, IX, 1, 16, also quotes the Dâmdâd as the authority for certain details contained in the Bundahish, which work must therefore be considered as derived from this Nask. It is very probable, however, that the Nask contained much more information than is here hinted, because the author's usual plan, in these brief summaries, is evidently to confine his remarks to a few of the details near the beginning of each Nask.

## CHAPTER VI.

1. On account of the Zand of the Nâdar<sup>1</sup> not reaching us, the Avesta is retained, for teaching, recital, and ceremony, because *it has come unto us* with authority.

2. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect excellence.

## CHAPTER VII.

1. The Pâgag<sup>2</sup> contains particulars about lawfully slaughtering a sheep, for the ceremonial of fires, waters, and holy-water, in aid of a season-festival<sup>3</sup> of the Mazda-worshippers; besides this, namely, in what are the skill, and the means for selection, of a man for such work, and the formula (nîrang) of the ceremony. 2. And this, namely, from which limb of the sheep species is the

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to the fifth word, ratus, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the sixth Nask in other Rivâyats. Owing to its Zand, or Pahlavi version, having been lost, the author does not undertake to describe its contents; but the Rivâyats state that it consisted of thirty-five jûrat, or compilations, about astronomy and astrology. The traditional name Nâdar, or Nâdûr, is probably a misreading; as Vakhtar (for Vakhttâr), 'more destined,' and Vakhtvar, 'fate-bringing,' would be more intelligible readings of the same letters.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding to the sixth word, ashâd, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the seventh Nask in other Rivâyats. Pâgag probably means 'cooking,' with reference to the preparations for the sacred feasts; it is called Pâgam, Pâkam, or Pâzûn in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained twenty-two kardah, or subdivisions.

<sup>3</sup> The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held on the five days ending, respectively, with the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year (see Sls. XVIII, 3 n.).

share of the fires and waters to be taken<sup>1</sup>, and how is the preparation which is to be carried on, and with what Avesta. 3. And whatever is about a season-festival; where the appointed place is, when one celebrates it, and when it has fully elapsed; the assembly of the season-festival, and the donation for the feast; where and when the celebration is possible, in what proportion the provisions are to be given out, and when to be prepared and divided; where its advantage is, and what benefit there is from it to the good creations both spiritually and materially.

4. And this, namely, what skill is more suitable for the sacerdotal (*rad-pisag*) leadership and other priestly authority (*radih*) each separately. 5. About the business of the sacerdotal leadership, where it is owing to having appointed the place and having gone forth to the assembly of the Mazda-worshippers, and when they are to be made aware that that assembly is more particularly for the arrangement of renunciation of vice and retribution for sin; the needful supply of things for the feast; the selection of the men for the *Zôti* duty and *Râspî* duty before the day<sup>2</sup>; the *Zôtis*, *Râspis*, and others who put in action the work for the preparation and giving of the portions; and the cleansing of the body-clothing. 6. As to the selection of the president (*pêš-gâs*) of the feast there is this, namely, what ability is requisite for that presidentship. 7. The allotment of the portions, and giving them sooner to those who are sooner in need of them. 8. Scoffing before

<sup>1</sup> The heart for the fires, and the fore-legs for the waters, according to Sls. XI, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The *Zôti* is the chief officiating priest in the ceremonial, and the *Râspî* is the assistant priest.

priestly authorities, *who are great and good, and* when they do not give a portion to the authorities are *cases when* the season-festivals are not to be considered as celebrated. 9. This, too, that the Zôtis and Râspîs are for the Zôti duty *and* Râspî duty, *and* the other priestly authorities for the control of sin and computation (*âvâr*) of the portions; and more on the same subject.

10. About the rotation of the day-watches (*gâs*), days, months, and seasons of the year—which are when *it* is summer *and* winter—and the appearances (*sahîsnö*) therein which are owing to the motion of the constellations<sup>1</sup>. 11. Where the coming of the righteous guardian spirits (*fravâhar*) into the worldly *existence occurs*, in those ten days which are the end of the winter *and* termination of the year, because the five Gâthic days<sup>2</sup>, among them, are for that *purpose*; the cessation of that same, as well as *its* continuance. 12. The great needfulness of the guardian spirits of the righteous in the ceremonial *and* obeisance of those ten days, *and* their abundant gratification therefrom; their vexation from

<sup>1</sup> That is, the *apparent* motions of the akhtarân, or signs of the zodiac.

<sup>2</sup> The five supplementary days, named after the five Gâthas, which are added to the twelfth month of thirty days to complete the 365 days of the year. They are also called *fravardîkân*, or 'those devoted to the Fravards,' or *Fravashis*, the guardian spirits, or prototypes, of created beings, who are supposed to revisit their old haunts on earth during those days. The last five days of the twelfth month are also considered a part of the same festival of ten days, which would have terminated at the vernal equinox, as indicated in the text, about A.D. 1000 if the ordinary receding calendar of the Irâanian Parsis were used; but it seems probable, from Bd. XXV, that the calendar in those times was fixed for the new year to begin at the vernal equinox.

want of welcome and want of obeisance; and *their* ascent from the worldly existences. 13. The extreme importance (*frēvōānīkīh*) of liberality and bounty at that season; and the proper duty *of* the priestly authority of a district (*shatrō*) in assisting and interceding for the poor, for the sake of teaching, from the days devoted to the guardian spirits, *proper* actions among those having guardian spirits.

14. About the period for taking medicinal plants, and whatever is on the same subject. 15. About where *there* is a household, village, communal, or provincial petitioning *for* the royal chastisement *of* sins affecting the soul, each separately; *and* for whom is the atonement. 16. About the advantage owing to disposal of sin and infliction of chastisement, and the harm owing to not disposing of sin *and* neglecting the chastisement inflicted.

17. About the first thirty-three chieftainships (*radīh*), around *and* concealed; that is, which *and* how many are spiritual, *and* how many worldly; and which is the second, and which the third, of the spiritual *and* worldly *existences*. 18. About the admirableness and great meritoriousness *of* public observances, and the awfulness and grievous sinfulness *of* apostasy. 19. And also this, that is, when any one is doubtful, through apostasy, which is the law from the sacred beings in elucidation, and which of the sacred beings is to be entreated for assistance. 20. About this, namely, *for* which of the women the bringing of a handful of anything, from the property *of her* husband, *to be* given away is allowable, in what proportion, and how, *and* for whom; and for whom, when she gives *it* away, *it* is allowable *for* the husband to bring *it* back.

21. About this, namely, when summer comes on, where does winter run to; and when winter comes on, where does summer go to? 22. About the amount of disaster<sup>1</sup> *that* has passed by in one century, and the duration of *its* passing; everything which is connected with the disaster, and whatever is on the same subject. 23. Where *and* how many months are of such a kind<sup>2</sup>, *and* how many of such a kind<sup>2</sup>; as well as the religious names of the twelve months, and the reason of the name of each one of them, that is, to which of the sacred beings, in the ceremonial, each one of these twelve months is predominantly appertaining; so also of the thirty days which are in every month, and so also of the five Gâthas in every *year*—that is, the five Gâthic days at the end of the year<sup>3</sup>—all the sacred beings *to whom they are* appertaining, and when the righteous guardian spirits (*ardâî fravardö*) are reverenced.

24. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

### CHAPTER VIII.

1. The *Radö-dâd-aîtag*<sup>4</sup> contains particulars *about* the religious and important customs *and* laws to be

<sup>1</sup> Pâz. vâighn.

<sup>2</sup> Reading hamgûn in both places; but the two words may be hamînô, 'summer,' and khamînô, 'wet weather.'

<sup>3</sup> The five supplementary days mentioned in § 11.

<sup>4</sup> Corresponding to the seventh word, *kîd*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the eighth Nask in other Rivâyats. *Radö-dâd-aîtag* means 'concerning the habits of a priestly master,' which is a fair description of the contents of this Nask, but it is misread *Ratustâî*, or *Ratustâîd*, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained originally fifty kardah, or subdivisions, of which only thirteen were recovered after the time of Alexander.

enforced. 2. The reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a sacerdotal leader, *and his* possession of a portion of the other authority (patīh) of a ruler also; that is, how worthiness is to be distinguished from unworthiness, and superexcellence from unworthiness, in him, namely, in the priestly chieftainship (*radīh*) of Khvanīras<sup>1</sup> *and* the other regions, each separately, the first which stood aloof from the *Mazda*-worshippers.

3. About the demonstration *and* notification of the sitting together of the archangels, the ritual and appliances in the ceremonial of the sacred beings, the position and business of the Zōtis *and* Rāspīs<sup>2</sup> in a ceremonial, and also all the business of the leaders in their duty, each separately *and* originally<sup>3</sup>.  
 4. The greatness of the helpfulness (*vigidār-dahisnīh*) in good works, the kinds of helpfulness, and the proximity of Aūharmazd to the thoughts, words, *and* deeds of the embodied existence.

5. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

## CHAPTER IX.

1. The Baris<sup>4</sup> contains particulars about the invigorating power, truth, *and* generosity of the many

<sup>1</sup> Av. *Hvaniratha*, the central region of the earth, containing the countries best known to the Irānians, around which the other six smaller regions were supposed to be arranged.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. VII, 5.      <sup>3</sup> Or 'fundamentally' (*val būn*).

<sup>4</sup> Corresponding to the eighth word, *hakā*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the ninth Nask in other Rivāyats. Baris, or Barīs, means 'splendid, sublime;' and the Rivāyats state that it contained originally sixty kardah, or subdivisions, of which only twelve were recovered after the time of Alexander.

capabilities of instinctive *and* acquired wisdom. 2. And also the ill-advisedness of falsity, stinginess<sup>1</sup>, and ignorance; and the many defects which are fraternizing *with* the opponent of capabilities. 3. The blessing and cursing, the good will and ill-will of the good ritual and evil ritual, the good statements and evil statements of Vohûman, Spendarmad, Srôsh, Aharîsvang<sup>2</sup>, *and* many other sacred beings, and of evil thought, lust, wrath, unrighteousness<sup>3</sup>, and many other demons; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

4. The destiny, nature, desire, religion, habit, learning, business, and diligence of the period, *and* whatever is on the same subject, as regards sovereignty, government, priestly authority, justice, and mediation. 5. The union, peace, and promise-keeping, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. The law and custom, good works and sin, good repute and evil repute, righteousness and wickedness, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 7. The modesty and pomp, glory and penance (*srôshikih*)<sup>4</sup>, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 8. The connec-

<sup>1</sup> Pûs, the demon of misers in Bd. XXVIII, 28.

<sup>2</sup> These four angels are personifications of Av. *vohû manô*, 'good thought,' *spenta ârmaitis*, 'bountiful devotion,' *sraoshô*, 'the obedient one,' and *ashis vanguhi*, 'good rectitude.'

<sup>3</sup> These four demoniacal propensities are here mentioned as the opponents of the foregoing four angels. Akômanô and Aeshm, the first and third, are the recognised opponents of Vohûman and Srôsh, respectively (see Bd. XXX, 29). Varenô, the second, is considered a demon (see Bd. XXVIII, 25), and is mentioned in the Dînkard, book VI, as opposing the angel *Ard* or Aharîsvang (see Dd. XCIV, 2); here he evidently opposes another female angel, Spendarmad, while Aharîsvang or Ashi is opposed by her simple negation, Anâhar.

<sup>4</sup> Av. *sraoshya*, see Pahl. Vend. XIII, 9.

tion through ownership, subordination, service, and religion, and whatever is on the same subject. 9. The suitability and unsuitability, friendship and enmity, and whatever is on the same subject. 10. The handsomeness and ugliness, youth and decrepitude, opulence and destitution, happiness and misery, and whatever is on the same subject. 11. The strength in races *and species* of things, and whatever is on the same subject. 12. The learning, solving of questions, complete virtue, and whatever is on the same subject. 13. The hunger<sup>1</sup> and thirst, and their remedy, and whatever is on the same subject. 14. The delirium and death, and *their* expediency, and whatever is on the same subject. 15. The primitive state *and* tendency of things, precedence and sequence, and whatever is on the same subject. 16. The acceptableness *and* unacceptableness, gratification and afflictiveness<sup>2</sup>, and whatever is on the same subject. 17. The mightiness (*takîkîh*), loquacity, sociality, and whatever is on the same subject. 18. The understanding *and* mind; the body *and* soul; the heaven, hell, *and* future existence; and whatever is on the same subject. 19. The omniscience of the creator *Aûharmazd*, *and* all goodness of like motive, the life *and* glory of a righteous man, and whatever is on the same subject<sup>3</sup>.

20. And many other arrangements of the creator, through propagation of statements, preparation of sovereignty, maintenance of the body, and preserva-

<sup>1</sup> Supposing that *sûkô* stands for *sûd*.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *bêshinîdârîh* which is more probable than the *bêshâzinîdârîh*, 'curativeness,' of the MS.

<sup>3</sup> All the details in §§ 5-19 are to be read in connection with 'the period' mentioned in § 4.

tion of the soul; a statement adapted to that which one mentions thus: ‘Truly-spoken statements are the Baris, Kaskîsrôbô, and Vistâsp-sâstô.’

21. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

### CHAPTER X.

1. The Kaskîsrôbô<sup>1</sup> contains particulars about the explanation of the ceremonial and ritual of the sacred beings, through what arises its conversion into demon-worship, and information as to cleanness and uncleanness. 2. The preparations and precautions for the Yasts<sup>2</sup>; the tokens and signs of the overflowing and evil owing to the demons at various times, and the cause of their exhaustion and the final victory of the sacred beings. 3. Then the exalting chants of every kind, which Aûharmazd taught to Zaratûst, are called the teaching (sâstô) of the spirits.

4. Excellence that is perfect is righteousness.

### CHAPTER XI.

1. The Vistâsp-sâstô<sup>3</sup> is about particulars of

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to the ninth word, *vangheus*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the tenth Nask in other Rivâyats. Kaskîsrôbô may perhaps mean ‘with happy, or comfortable, statements,’ and is corrupted into Kassrôb, Kaskasîrah, or Kas-kanîz, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained originally sixty kardah, or subdivisions, of which only fifteen were recovered after the time of Alexander.

<sup>2</sup> The minor ceremonies.

<sup>3</sup> Corresponding to the tenth word, *dazdâ*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the eleventh Nask in other Rivâ-

every kind *relating* to Kāi-Vistāsp<sup>1</sup>; the temper, character, demeanour, knowledge, learning, and law for sovereignty; the government of the creatures, *and* the advancement of the will of the sacred beings requisite for it.

2. The creator Aûharmazd sends the archangels<sup>2</sup> on to Kāi-Vistāsp as evidence about Aûharmazd, *and* a reminder of Spitâmân Zaratûst, of the pure goodness of the Mazda-worshipping religion, *and of* the command for the ruler Vistâsp, as to *its* triumph, on accepting the religion from Zaratûst. 3. The visible coming of the archangels to the metropolis, and, secondly, *their* domestication (handêmânh) at the residence of Vistâsp and his companions; the envoys' explanation of Aûharmazd's message to Vistâsp, *and* the accepting of the Mazda-worshipping religion *by* the obedient king Vistâsp.

4. The outpouring (sârînidanö) of Argâsp the Khyôn<sup>3</sup>, by the demon of wrath, for war with Vistâsp

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yats. Vistâsp-sâstô means 'the instruction of Vistâsp,' and is corrupted into Vistâsp-shâh, Vistâspâd, or Vistâsp, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained originally sixty kardah, or ȝûrat, of which only ten, or eight, were recovered after the time of Alexander. The last number refers, no doubt, to the eight far-gards still extant under the corrupt name Vistâsp Yast, which probably consist of fragments of the Avesta text of this Nask; but in comparing that text with this description it must be remembered that the author is describing the contents of the Pahlavi version which would contain much commentary.

<sup>1</sup> The king of Irân in the time of Zaratûst, who accepted the Mazda-worshipping religion; the last king of the old history derived from the Avesta (see Chap. XIII, 15, 16).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Vistâsp Yt. 40.

<sup>3</sup> The 'deadly Huyaona Aregad-aspa' of Yt. IX, 30, XVII, 50, whom Kavi Vistâspa prayed to be delivered from. According to the Yâdkâr-î Zarîrân, Argâsp, king of the Khyôns, made war upon

and disturbance of Zarātūst; the arrangements and movements of king Vistāsp for that war, and whatever is on the same subject.

5. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

## CHAPTER XII.

1. The Avesta and commentary of the Vastag<sup>1</sup> have not reached us through any high-priest.
2. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1. The *Kitradâd*<sup>2</sup> contains particulars about the race of mankind; how the formation of the first

Vistāsp on account of the latter's conversion to *Mazda*-worship, and was defeated with great difficulty in a most desperate battle which is also described in the *Shâhnâmah*. Whether the *Khyôns* were the *Chionitae* of later times is uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to the eleventh word, *mananghô*, in the *Ahunavair*, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the twelfth Nask in other *Rivâyats*. The name of this Nask is very uncertain; in five occurrences of the word the first letter is omitted once and may once be the conjunction 'and,' and the last syllable is also omitted once; the B. P. Riv. calls it *Dâd*, by omitting the first and last letters and varying the reading of the rest, and the other *Rivâyats* call it '*Hast* or '*Hast*'. They also state that it contained twenty-two *kardah*, or *fargards*, in six divisions treating of various religious and worldly duties, as detailed in the translations in the latter part of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding to the twelfth word, *shyaothananãm*, in the *Ahunavair*, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fourteenth Nask in other *Rivâyats*. *Kitradâd* means 'the races produced,' a name of the same form as *Dâmdâd*, but it is read *Kîdrast*, *Kirast*, or *Girast* in the *Rivâyats*, which also state that it contained twenty-two *kardah*, or subdivisions.

man, Gâyômard<sup>1</sup>, by Aûharmazd was for the manifestation of the bodily form (*kerpih*) ; and in what manner the first couple, Mashya and Mashyôî<sup>2</sup>, arose. 2. About their progeny and lineage during the entire progress of mankind in the central region of Khvanîras<sup>3</sup>, and the distribution from them into the six<sup>4</sup> regions which are around Khvanîras. 3. The various races, which are specially enumerated, were ordered to disperse by the attracting or banishing command of the creator, to each separate race, as to the place where it went to ; and whose life and soul (*nisman*) are appointed from yonder world. 4. Also the original description of their descent into the various regions, of those, too, who are on the frontiers of Khvanîras, and those who also made their habitation in the intermediate places ; and the customs of each one of the species of mankind which was produced among the original races.

5. The original establishment of law and custom ; that of village superintendence (*dihânkânîh*)<sup>5</sup>, for the cultivation and nourishment of the world, based upon the traditional early law (*vâsarid pêsdâdö*) ; and that of monarchy, for the protection and govern-

<sup>1</sup> The original human being who was created as the source whence mankind were to spring, in the same way as 'the sole-created ox' was to be the origin of all other animals (see Bd. III, 14, 17, 19-23, IV, 1, XV, 1, 31).

<sup>2</sup> Literally 'man and woman,' here written *masyê va-masyâôî*. The mode of their origin from Gâyômard and the development of man upon the earth are detailed in Bd. XV.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. VIII, 2.

<sup>4</sup> The MS. has 'seven' by mistake.

<sup>5</sup> A more probable reading than *gehânakânîh* in the sense of 'colonization.'

ment of the creatures, upon Hôshâng the Pêsdâdian<sup>1</sup>.  
 6. A report of the lineage of Hôshâng, who was the first, and Tâkhmô-rupô<sup>2</sup> who was the second ruler of the seven regions; and an enumeration of reports of lineage from the original creation even unto Yim<sup>3</sup>.  
 7. A report of the lineage of Yim, the third ruler of the seven regions; information as to his period, and the progress (*sakisnö*) of time from the original creation till the end of the reign of Yim.

8. A report of the ill-informed evil ruler of the seven regions, Dahâk<sup>4</sup>; his lineage back to Tâz<sup>5</sup>, the brother of Hôshâng and father of the Tâzik<sup>s</sup> (*Arabs*); information as to him and his period, the progress of time from the end of the good reign of Yim till the end of the evil reign of Dahâk, and the lineage from Yim as far as Frêdûn<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This 'Hôshâng of the early law,' Av. Haoshyanghô parâdhâtô, is considered to have been the great-grandson of Mashya and first monarch of the world, being the founder of the Pêsdâdian dynasty (see Bd. XV, 28, XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 3, 4).

<sup>2</sup> Here written Tâkhmô-rûpô, Av. Takhmô-urupa; the great-grandson and successor of Hôshâng (see Bd. XXXI, 2, 3, XXXIV, 4).

<sup>3</sup> Av. Yimô khshaêtô, the *Gamshêd* of the Shâhnâmah; the brother and successor of Tâkhmô-rupô (see Bd. XXXI, 3-5, XXXIV, 4).

<sup>4</sup> Also called Az-î Dahâk, Av. azis dahâkô, 'destructive serpent,' a name applied to a foreign dynasty, considered as a single king who conquered Yim and succeeded him, being traditionally his third cousin once removed (see Bd. XXXI, 5, 6, XXXIV, 5). Further details are given in Bk. IX, Chap. XXI, 1-13. Dahâk was the last ruler of all the seven regions, excepting Kât-Ûs.

<sup>5</sup> See Bd. XV, 26-28.

<sup>6</sup> Av. Thraêtaonô, son of Âthwyô, and, traditionally, the ninth in descent from Yim (see Bd. XXXI, 7, 8); nine generations being assumed necessary to allow for the thousand years' reign of the Dahâk dynasty which he put an end to. His rule was confined to the central region of Khvanîras.

9. A report of Frēdūn, the ruler of Khvanīras; as to the smiting of Dahāk, the conquering of the country of Mâzendarân<sup>1</sup>, and the allotment of Khvanīras among his three sons, Salm, Tûg, and Aîrîk<sup>2</sup>; their union with the daughters of Pât-srôbô<sup>3</sup>, king of the Arabs and descendant of Tâz, and the lineage and report of them, each separately. 10. The reign of Mânûskîhar of Irân, descendant (nâpô) of Aîrîk. 11. The expiating<sup>4</sup> monarch Frâsiyâv of Tûrân, and Aûzôbô<sup>5</sup> the Tûmâspian, monarch of Irân.

12. The descendant of Mânûskîhar, Kavî-Kavâd, who was progenitor of the Kayâns and ruler of Irân; and the expiating ruler Keresâsp<sup>6</sup>. 13. Kâî-Ûs, grandson<sup>7</sup> of Kavâd, ruler and maintainer of royalty (kaî-dânô) in the seven regions. 14. Kai-Khûsrôî who was son of Siyâvakhsh<sup>8</sup> and ruler of

<sup>1</sup> The land on the southern coast of the Caspian belonging to the Mâzainya daêva (demons, or idolators) of the Avesta.

<sup>2</sup> The last of whom was slain by his brothers, and was avenged by his descendant Mânûskîhar (see Bd. XXXI, 9-12).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the celebrated individual of that name who is mentioned, in Pahl. Vend. XX, 4, as an instance of opulence. The Shâhnâmah speaks only of the three daughters of the king of Yaman.

<sup>4</sup> Or ‘plundering;’ but Tûg-hômônd here, and Tûgâvand in § 12, may perhaps mean ‘descended from Tûg,’ as Frâsiyâv was the sixth in descent from Tûg (see Bd. XXXI, 14).

<sup>5</sup> Said to have been a great-grandson of Mânûskîhar (see Bd. XXXI, 23).

<sup>6</sup> Probably the hero who was sixth in descent from Tûg, and third cousin of Frâsiyâv (see Bk. IX, Chap. XV; Bd. XXXI, 14, 26, 27); though placed by Firdausî as a king Garshâsp preceding Kai-Qubâd.

<sup>7</sup> As appears from Bd. XXXI, 25.

<sup>8</sup> The son of Kâî-Ûs, who did not become king.

Khvanîras. 15. And a special report of many particulars of the races of Irân, Tûrân, and Salmân<sup>1</sup>, even unto the ruler Kai-Lôharâsp<sup>2</sup> and the monarch Kai-Vistâsp<sup>3</sup>. 16. The prophet (vakhshvar) of the Mazda-worshipping religion, Zaratûst the Spîtâmân, and the progress of time from the beginning of the reign of Frêdûn till the coming of Zaratûst to conference with Aûharmazd<sup>4</sup>.

17. And many races and statements, onwards from that *time*, are enumerated in the same Nask as *having* existed, and are characterized by it for existence, such as the Sasanians—whom it reckons as the well-created—and their sovereignty. 18. In the race of Mânûskîhar, Nôdar<sup>5</sup>, Yôskô Fryânô<sup>6</sup>, and

<sup>1</sup> The people of the Airya, Tûiryâ, and Sairima provinces, mentioned in Yt. XIII, 143.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth in descent from Kavî-Kavâd, and third cousin once removed of his predecessor Kai-Khûsrôf (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28).

<sup>3</sup> Son of Kai-Lôharâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 29).

<sup>4</sup> The historical legends contained in the Avesta end with the sons of king Vistâsp, and other contemporaries of Zaratûst; not a word being said of any succeeding monarch. Similarly, Bd. XXXI and this historical Nask fail to carry on the details of the royal line beyond Vistâsp; ignoring the Achæmenians, Alexander, and the Askâniens, they leap over an evident gap in history (very insufficiently bridged in the more modern chapter, Bd. XXXIV) to the Sasanians. This gap, between Avesta legends and the later undoubted Persian history, is a very weak point in the continuity of the two periods. And as the mode of bridging over this gap in Bd. XXXIV occurs in a chapter ‘on the computation of years of the Arabs’ (see S. B. E. vol. v, p. xxxvii) it must be considered as more of an Arab than a Persian contribution to history.

<sup>5</sup> Av. Naotara; a son of Mânûskîhar (see Bd. XXXI, 13, 23, XXXIII, 5).

<sup>6</sup> Doubtful; if the second name be a patronymic, the combination suggests the Yôistô yô Fryânânam of Yt. V, 81, XIII, 120, regarding whom the tale of Yôst-i Fryânô is told. No son of

Namûn, son of Spend-shêd<sup>1</sup>, is included the father of Avarethrabæu<sup>2</sup>, Âtûr-pâd son of Mâraspend; and its existence, even then, remains for the future.

19. Also about the many qualities of capability and glory of the selfsame sovereignty, which are promoting the renovation of the universe destined for the races; and its fortune and splendour which are shed upon the race, and are not severed from it till the renovation<sup>3</sup>.

20. About the original knowledge of the professions, care, and industry of the period; the great acquaintance of mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, and the deliverance of the soul; the govern-

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Nôdar with a corresponding name is known, so that we are not dealing with a complete pedigree.

<sup>1</sup> Probably intended for Spend-dâd, and we should perhaps read 'Vohûmanô, son of Spend-dâd,' whose reign is celebrated as the silver age in Byt. II, 17 (see also Bd. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 8).

<sup>2</sup> This name, or surname, is given in Pâzand, and is also to be found in Yt. XIII, 106, as follows: 'we reverence the guardian spirit of the righteous Avarchrabæu, son of Râstare-vaghant.' If the latter epithet were a surname of Âtûr-pâd, the famous prime minister of Shahpûhar II, as the text intimates, we must conclude that the former epithet was a surname of his only son, Zaratfûst, mentioned in his Pandnâmak. These surnames, and others of their time, might have been easily interpolated in the long list of uncouth names included in the Fravardîn Yast, when the Avesta books were revised during the reign of Shahpûhar II, and the Nasks were 'reckoned,' as stated in the fourth book of the Dînkard (see Haug's Essay on Pahlavi, pp. 146, 152).

<sup>3</sup> §§ 17-19 refer to text which must have been written either in the time of Shahpûhar II, or at some later period during Sasanian rule. Whereas §§ 1-16 are descriptive of an older record which, though consistent with the extant Avesta texts, could not have been compiled from them alone. And § 20 describes text that might have been written at any time.

ment necessary for the world, even before the coming of Zaratûst by order of the creator ; the bringing of the word<sup>1</sup> from the sacred beings, and all occurrences to the leaders of *religion* at various times ; and whatever is on the same subjects.

21. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

1. The Spend<sup>2</sup> contains particulars about the origin and combination of the material *existence*, guardian spirit, and soul (*nisman*) of Zaratûst ; how the creation of each one occurred in the spiritual *existence*, and in what mode it was produced for the worldly *existence*; how their connection with the parents arose, the coming of the parents together, the combination in the mother, and the birth from the mother ; and whatever is on the same subject.

2. Also about the arrival of both spirits, the good one for developing, and the evil one for destroying ; the victory of the good spirit, and the rearing of Zaratûst.

3. His attainment on maturity, at thirty years of age, to a conference with Aûharmazd ; and the

<sup>1</sup> Reading vakhsh in the same Avesta sense as in vakhshvar, 'a prophet ;' it may, however, mean 'gain, fortune, gifts.' A similarly-written word, vâyâ, 'air, breath,' is used in Sg. XIII, 7 to translate the 'Spirit' of God in Gen. i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding to the thirteenth word, *angheus*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv. ; and it is the thirteenth Nask in all Rivâyats. Spend means 'beneficent, or bounteous,' and is written Spend, or Spentah, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained sixty kardah, or subdivisions.

occurrence of seven conferences in ten years. 4. Many marvels, owing to him, are published therein, just as there are *some* which, collected *and* selected, are noticed by the Dinkard manuscript<sup>1</sup>.

5. *In* seven sections (*burinö*), such as are called Spend, are the seven enquiries, *in* each instance a single enquiry; *and* the bestowal of the other Nasks, in these seven enquiries, *was* through speaking out in each one *of* the places of conference. 6. About the various enquiries, the period of the sitting *and* rising *on* each occasion, the nature of the sitting of the archangels, the coming forward of Zaratûst to that domestic conclave (*handêmânih*), his position *in* that place, what *there was* to say to him, *and* what *there was* to exhibit to him.

7. The conferring of the wisdom of omniscience upon Zaratûst, and *what was seen by* Zaratûst *of* the past *and* future, *and* the perpetual amount of duration therein, through that wisdom<sup>2</sup>. 8. The existence of that wisdom, *and* what that is which, after *having* subsisted in it, is again well recognised; such as, owing to it, are the highest *and* best of places, heaven and the various grades of position *and* reward *of* the righteous, according to their worthiness through the practice of good works; the most downward and worst of places, hell and the place *of* punishment *of* the wicked, according to their sin; and, between the two, the place of the ever-stationary, those having equal good works *and*

<sup>1</sup> In its seventh book which contains a full account of the birth and much of the life of Zaratûst, with a narrative of future events, all derived, no doubt, from the Spend Nask. Particulars connected with his birth will also be found in Bk. IX, Chap. XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> See Byt. II, 5-9.

sin; the *Kinvad* bridge<sup>1</sup>, at which is the account as to good works *and* sin; and the future existence, in which is the consummation of every one, righteous and wicked, and the preservation of all good creations from every evil occurs.

9. Information also *as to* many other things which are marvellous, and *as to* a summary of the statements of these seven enquiries, which is *derived* from knowledge of every kind. 10. Likewise, about the communication of Zaratûst's knowledge of the Mazda-worshipping religion to the world, his attracting mankind to the religion, *and* the ages, after Zaratûst, until the renovation of the universe. 11. *And* about the nature of the advancement of the people of the period, the separation of centuries and millenniums, *and* the signs, wonders, and perplexity which are manifested in the world at the end of each millennium in the world.

12. Also as to the birth *and* arrival of Aûshêdar<sup>2</sup>, son of Zaratûst, at the end of the first millennium<sup>3</sup>, and a report of him and his time, *and of* the many destroyers of the organizers of the period between Zaratûst's millennium and the coming of Aûshêdar<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Av. *kinvatô peretus*, the route to the other world (see Bk. IX, Chap. XX, 3).

<sup>2</sup> Commonly written Hûshêdar, but it is a corruption of Av. Ukhshyad-ereta. He is the first of the three posthumous sons of Zaratûst, who were expected to restore his religion and make it triumphant by three successive efforts, each preceded by a period of anarchy (see Bd. XXXII, 8, 9, Byt. III, 13, 43-50).

<sup>3</sup> The millennium of Zaratûst, which, according to the chronology of the Bundahis, must have ended during the period A.D. 593-635 (see Byt. III, 11 n.).

<sup>4</sup> The occurrence of such an interval between the first millennium and the coming of Aûshêdar seems inconsistent with the previous

13. The arrival of Aûshêdar-mâh<sup>1</sup>, son of Zaratûst, at the end of the second millennium; information about him and his time, and the destroyers of the organizers who were within the millennium of Aûshêdar. 14. The coming and arrival of Sôshâns<sup>2</sup>, son of Zaratûst, at the end of the third millennium, the destroyers of the organizers who were within the millennium of Aûshêdar-mâh, the arrival of Sôshâns, and information about Sôshâns and his time. 15. Also, as to the renovation of the universe and the future existence, it is declared that they arise in his time.

16. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

### CHAPTER XV.

1. The Bakân-yast<sup>3</sup> contains particulars, first, about the worship of Aûharmazd, the highest of divinities (bakân), and, secondly, of the worship of the angels of other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are likewise the names of

statement as to his arrival at the end of that millennium, but, from Byt. III, 44, it appears probable that he was expected to come in the 600th year of the next millennium (A.D. 1193-1235).

<sup>1</sup> Commonly written Hûshêzar-mâh, but it is a corruption of Av. Ukhshyad-nemangh. He is the second of the expected posthumous sons (see Byt. III, 52, 53).

<sup>2</sup> Av. Saoshyâs; the last of the posthumous sons, who is expected to complete the triumph of the religion, and prepare for the renovation of the universe (see Bd. XXX, 4, 7, 25, 27, Byt. III, 62).

<sup>3</sup> Corresponding to the fourteenth word, mazdâi, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fifteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. Bakân-yast means 'worship of the divinities,' and is written Baghân-yast, or Bayân-yast, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained seventeen kardah, or subdivisions.

the days<sup>1</sup>; also their glory, power, triumph, and marvellousness. 2. Besides, also, many angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention and obeisance due to them.

3. The worthiness and dispensation of favour for worshippers, and the duty of their many separate recitations unto the angels. 4. The duty of unlimited acquaintance with knowledge about the possessions and arrangements of the period, over which the creator Aûharmazd has appointed them, and they remain to cause industry.

5. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

## CHAPTER XVI.

1. The beginning of the law is the Nîkâdûm<sup>2</sup> of thirty fargards<sup>3</sup>. 2. The section Patkâr-radistân ('magistrate code')<sup>4</sup> is about this, that the ruin and misery (ayôyakîh) from the destroyer, for mankind and animals, occurring really apart from the spiritual existence, have arisen through the sinfulness even of

<sup>1</sup> Each of the days of the Parsi month being named after some particular angel, or spirit. From this description it appears probable that the Yasts formed a part of this Nask; but, if so, it ought to have contained at least thirty chapters.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding to the fifteenth word, khshathremkâ, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the sixteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. This name should probably be Vîk-aft-tûm, meaning 'the most separate concerns,' as the Nask refers chiefly to public law; but it is called Niyâram, or Niyâdâm, in the Rivâyats.

<sup>3</sup> The Rivâyats say fifty-four kardah, which number may have been obtained by adding the 'twenty-four particulars,' mentioned in Chap. XX, 1, to the thirty fargards stated here.

<sup>4</sup> The patkâr-rad, or settler of disputes, appears to have held a position somewhere between an arbitrator and a judge, and which may be approximately defined as that of a magistrate.

mankind; *and* the progress of ruin and misery in the world is owing to unauthorisedly assaulting one another. 3. Advice to mankind about abstaining therefrom, *with* an estimate of an authorised assault, *and*, again, for a slight assault and no assault. 4. To stand magisterially, even opposed to the unmagisterial, with freedom from hurt and loss to oneself; *and* to abstain altogether, likewise, from the most innocuous (*anakhrûgûnôtûm*) assault even upon an unmagisterial *person*.

5. *In* all magisterial investigation (*patkâr-radîh*) —of which, when the custom that exists is established judicially, the substance is two statements, which are verbal and demonstrable, that subsist in different combinations—*there* are four species: the verbal and demonstrable, the verbal which is not demonstrable, the demonstrable *which* is not verbal, *and that which is* neither verbal nor yet demonstrable. 6. In the arguments (*sâmân*) which are allotted *as* verbal are four species, the dispute *having* different arguments *and* different assertions which are for unmagisterial investigation, for one's own priestly authority (*radô*), for another good man —three of such being requisite<sup>1</sup>—and also for other evidence<sup>2</sup>. 7. And in those which are allotted *as* demonstrable are six species, and for an unmagisterial *person* the assertions, like the previous species which are on the same subject, are twelve<sup>3</sup>. 8. Of

<sup>1</sup> Evidently referring to arbitrators with an umpire.

<sup>2</sup> Reading hanô gôkâyîh, but hanô is an unusual form. Perhaps agôkâyîh, ‘want of evidence,’ would be more suitable to the context.

<sup>3</sup> So the MS., but ‘four’ would suit the context better, and the two Pahlavi ciphers do not differ much in shape.

all unmagisterial proceedings—which, though it be a custom, is to proceed unauthorisedly—the species are five<sup>1</sup>, which consist in *having* demonstrated, getting upon, striking<sup>2</sup>, *having* caused a wound, and *having* slain.

9. Of those subject to the magistrate (patkâr-radö-hômönd) the twelve species are divided into four sections of three each. 10. One section are the hearing who are seeing, they to whom a dispute which is verbal [is demonstrable; the hearing who are not seeing, they to whom a dispute which is verbal<sup>3</sup>] is not demonstrable; and the seeing who are not hearing, they to whom even a dispute which is demonstrable is not verbal. 11. And with these three, who are in one section, there is magisterial investigation; and the magistrate, unless (barâhat)<sup>4</sup> risk for the body *be* certain, is then irresistible; which is as though it be said *that* to restrain by

<sup>1</sup> These five grades of unauthorised retribution are analogous to the five grades of personal outrage mentioned in Vend. IV, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. zatam, ‘a blow, assault, striking,’ is used throughout, instead of zâkham (Pers. za’hm), which latter word does not occur in these two books of the Dînkard, except in the form zakhami-hastanö in Bk. IX, Chap. VIII, 6. The Farhang-i Oim-aêvak also uses zatöm in the same sense, in its oldest MSS.; and Dd. V, 1 has zatam. Darmesteter suggests that zatam and zâkham are both traceable to an original zathma, or zathema.

<sup>3</sup> The words in brackets are omitted by mistake in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> The ambiguity, mentioned in the latter clause of this section, appears to lie in these words, which mean either ‘but if’ or ‘only if.’ Such ambiguity must have existed in the original Pahlavi text of the Nask, and probably indicates that the earlier part of this section is a summary of the Pahlavi version of the original Avesta text, while the latter part is a summary of the Pahlavi commentary upon that version. As the same ambiguity occurs, without comment, in § 12, where the meaning seems tolerably certain, it is doubtful if the commentator’s opinion can be adopted.

wounding (*rêsh*) is not justifiable, *but* the decision therein is this, that, when they do not change through lawful litigation, and they cannot hold back without wounding, *it* is justifiable to keep *them* back even by wounding. 12. One section are the not hearing who are also not seeing, the women, and the children; and with these three, who are in one section, there is no magisterial investigation; and the decision *as to* the bodies thereof is this, that, unless risk for the body *be* certain from their complete change, they are then to be completely changed (*barâ vardisnô*). 13. One section are the foreigner and *him* worthy of death, certain of thereby producing a sentence for *being* executed from the judges; *also* the highwayman, when he stays on the highway and his destruction is proclaimed, *but* it is not possible to effect *it*. 14. With these three, likewise, who are in one section, there is no magisterial investigation, but the decision about them is even this, that when *one* is utterly destroying their life, *one* is thereby possessing merit. 15. One section are they who are walking, *or* coming upon *one*, unseasonably, *or* retreating confused into a rugged place, *and*, when *people* ask them to speak, *they* are giving no answer, *and* they are not suspicious as foreigners. 16. With these three, likewise, who are in one section, there is no magisterial investigation, and the decision about them is this, that when *one* kills them outright, *one* does not become sinful thereby.

17. *As to* whatever is on the same subject it introduces many opinions, and also this, that a counter-assault (*avâz-zatam*) is that which becomes a blow and wound, *and* is to be so committed when it

is possible to produce *them* again exactly in every single particular.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

*Nikâdûm Nask.*

1. The second section is the Zatamistân ('assault code'), particulars about assault (zatam) and the annoyances (vêshîgânö) from assault, such as pain, blood, and unconsciousness; *also* the sin<sup>1</sup> that a man may commit in a state of unconsciousness.
2. About the seven kinds of symptoms of unconsciousness, and separate decisions about assaults that adults may commit among those who are children; also as regards an assault which proceeds to pain *and* blood, and as regards that *in* which the duration of the disposition of wrath abates the pain *and* blood.
3. About begging (khvahîsnö) *and* beneficence (hû-dahîsnö)<sup>2</sup>, such as those of which *one* says in particular *there* are four species: when stinginess (pûsîh) benefits pride (pîkö), when pride benefits stinginess, when stinginess benefits stinginess, and when pride benefits pride; and *there* are three other species that originate from these *last* two, in consultation together, when stinginess and pride benefit stinginess and pride, when stinginess and pride benefit stinginess, and when stinginess and pride benefit pride, *all* which, *together*, constitute the seven primary species; many others, too, are traced back to these.
4. Also about seeing the depravity (khang

<sup>1</sup> Involuntary violations of the ceremonial law.

<sup>2</sup> The terms used in this section are not quite certain.

dîdanö) of a perverting member of the community (kastâr dâhm) and of the perverter of a member of the community, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

5. About a weapon seizable, and a weapon *one* brings, *there is* this, namely, what is the thing which is imperfect (anaspôrik) as a weapon, what is that which is not, and what is that which is welcome as a weapon; what is that which, when any one forces *it* back at any one as a weapon, is itself something annoying to him; what is his natural annoyance and what his imparted; *and* the penalty *in* property and difference of sentence on a man who is carrying a weapon, due to any weapon *he has* to carry away.

6. About the six modes of engaging in conflict: through assault, tumult (khvasisnö)<sup>1</sup>, false teaching (mitôk-sâstö)<sup>2</sup>, giving no food (atapdâdö)<sup>3</sup>, speaking with wizard's spells<sup>4</sup>, and speaking with threats of danger<sup>5</sup>; and, where *there is* an engaging

<sup>1</sup> Pers. 'hasis. Farh. Oîm, p. 34, ll. 6-8, has 'Av. vâiti=Pahl. khvasisnö is that when *one* runs behind any one for offensiveness.'

<sup>2</sup> Farh. Oîm, p. 35, ll. 1-4, has 'Av. mithôsâst and its explanation "false teaching" are that when *one* teaches a false way to any one; even when he unaccustomedly shows *it* rightly to any one, *it* is a committal of Mithôsâst by him.'

<sup>3</sup> Compare Pers. tabah, tô, tôî. Farh. Oîm, p. 38, ll. 2-4, has 'Atatdâd is that when *one* keeps back food and drink, whereby *there is* hunger and thirst.' It is worthy of death (see Chap. XX, 97).

<sup>4</sup> Farh. Oîm, p. 34, ll. 3-5, has 'Av. yâtukhta, through wizard's spells (yâtûk-gôbisnfhâ), is that when *one* shall speak thus: "I will destroy thee through witchcraft;" when *one* says "through the spirits' lack of good religion" *it* is of the same kind.'

<sup>5</sup> Farh. Oîm, p. 34, ll. 5, 6, has 'Av. duduwi buzda, threats of danger (saham-numâyisnfh), is that when *one* speaks thus: "I will strike with worldly weapons."'

in conflict, it then occurs when *one has* stood up for beginning *it* and the assault is committed, *on one* by the other, *and* not before. 7. And this, too, that engaging in conflict occurs *as regards* adult with adult, childless women with childless women, pregnant women with pregnant women, and children of seven years with children of seven years—but, as regards children of seven years in sight of *their* fathers, it becomes an engaging in conflict of the fathers—and the decision about it is this, that the atonement for every sin which may be committed through engaging in conflict goes to the priestly authorities.

8. About the affliction of a pure lord who sees any one *who* has been useless (*abûn*) unto *his* slave, though the slave is beseeching, and does not contend for *his* ownership. 9. About sin *affecting* accusers<sup>1</sup> not being atoned for by any other good work, except unto the accuser himself; also about the slaying of a servant together with *his* lord, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

10. About slaying *by* untaught children of seven years, *or* even of eight years in sight of *their* fathers; *and* the criminality of the fathers therein, when *it* is possible for them to hinder *it* *and* they do not hinder *it*, and when *it* is not possible for them to hinder *it*.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### *Nîkâdûm Nask.*

1. The third section is the Rêhistân ('wound code'), particulars about cutting, tearing, cleaving,

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<sup>1</sup> A sin which injures another person, or any good creation, who must be satisfied by compensation before the sin can be remitted.

disembowelling, stabbing, gnawing<sup>1</sup>, rupturing, hacking, mutilating, and withering<sup>2</sup>; such as are all called wounds. 2. The upheaving circular movement of a certain serpent-scourge<sup>3</sup>, the throwing down of the person, and the flow of blood from the bodies of the people.

3. How the various members are divided into seventy-six that are more particularly called principal, which are comprised in two classes; two of these, which are clothed *and* different, one from the other, are female, and *some* out of the surrounding parts (*girvôgânîh*), which are *apart* from eight of the principal, that are comprised in the members of the two classes *and* among those seventy-six—*and* which, in like manner, are different one from the other—are female, and are *of* different purpose and different design, one from the other.

4. These, too, namely, when any one, through an assault, produces, for any other, stupefaction, swelling, or leanness, blackness<sup>4</sup>, or paleness, shortness, or tallness, want of intelligence, much eating, little eating, or moderate eating, indolence, or diligence, or dulness of hearing; or he wishes to speak *some* words, and they strike him in return; or *one* altogether diminishes *any* one's speech, sight, or hearing,

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, *khvâyisnô* (compare Pers. 'hâyîdan) may mean 'biting.'

<sup>2</sup> The last four terms are, in Pahlavi: *skônisnô*, *khûrdô kardanô*, *tâshîdanô*, and *khûsînfîdanô*.

<sup>3</sup> The *mâr-ganô* (Av. *khrafstraghna*), we are told in Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 6, 'may be *made* of anything, *but* a leathern *one* is good' (see also Bd. XXVIII, 22). Intended as a snake-killer, it was misused as a scourge for human beings.

<sup>4</sup> Assuming that *vêsfîh*, 'excess,' is a miswriting of *siyahfîh*.

wisdom, strength, or semen, milk, or pregnancy; or when one destroys the spleen (*sþur*) or milk of females, or, in revenge (*gifar*), kills his son outright; or when they would inflict a wound upon a wound, and one's blood goes streaming forth.

5. Also about an assault with one, two, or three weapons, or more, in conjunction; or they may commit it on the spot, or in confederacy, or as a first offence<sup>1</sup>. 6. About the measure of a wound when a two-edged sword (*dôbarakô*) plunges down, the area (*sarâi*), walls, and surroundings, and the shape which is plunged; that which is hacked, or cleft, or mutilated, or a torrent of blood streaming; the affliction (*vamang*) of the furious serpent-scourge (*mârvanô*)<sup>2</sup>, and the length, glitter, and weight of the weapon.

7. The ritual for the departure of a wound and the departure of pain, watching over it for the duration of three nights or a year, its greater wretchedness or less wretchedness, its cure (*sþôrikîh*) or incurableness, and whatever is on the same subject. 8. Trivial enumerations, and decisions upon each separately.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### *Nîkâdûm Nask.*

1. The fourth section, which is also called the law of the Hamêmâlistân ('accuser's code'), contains particulars about accusation, and about the false

<sup>1</sup> These three modes are expressed by Pâz. *ithrih*, *hidhih*, and *apavarâvarstih*, which stand evidently for the original Avesta words *ithra*, *hadha*, and *apaurvavarsta* (see Chap. XXI, 6).

<sup>2</sup> See § 2.

accusation *by* any one, regarding any other, as to witchcraft, destroying a righteous *man*<sup>1</sup>, theft, plunder, injuring the existence, minor injury<sup>2</sup> as regards several particular things, taking up a *weapon*, threatening with it<sup>3</sup>, assault, tumult<sup>4</sup>, incarcerating<sup>5</sup>, false teaching, fettering, making dejected (nigûnö), giving no food, falsehood, speaking with wizard's spells, or with threats of danger, abstracting

<sup>1</sup> Pahl. aharûbökîh (=Av. ashavagha) must not be confounded with aharûbôkh, 'righteousness,' for which aharâyîh is more commonly used.

<sup>2</sup> These two kinds of injury, usually written bâîdôk-zêdô and kâftyôk-gadô in the Dînkard, are mentioned in Farh. Oîm, pp. 32, l. 8-34, l. 2, as follows:—'Av. baodhagad=Pahl. bôdôk-zêd and Av. baodhô-varstahê=Pahl. bôdôk-varst are as *it were* "observantly assaulted," and *one* mentions them most about the assault and injury of anything which is noticeable. Through falsehood other noticeable sin is small, *and* is subdued through being devoid of an injurer, as the assault *and* injury of anything through wear is a small sin. Kâftyôk-ged is a sin for mankind, which is a degree of Bôdôk-zêd, *but* less; so also the decree (das-tînak) is different from Bôdôk-varst. The principal Bôdôk-zêd, that of animals with observance, the Bôdôk-zêd through wear, *and* the Kâftyôk-zêd sin towards people are sins which are hamê-mâlân ("affecting accusers"). The dissipating weapon for sin dissipates the sinfulness of the other sin, which is called rûbânîk ("affecting the soul").'

<sup>3</sup> These two terms are âgêreptô and avôfristô (Av. âgereptem and avaoiristem) which are thus described in Farh. Oîm, p. 36, ll. 4-6: 'âgerept, "seized," is that when they shall take up a weapon for smiting an innocent *person*; avôfrist, "turning," is that when *one* turns the weapon upon an innocent *person*.'

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. XVII, 6, for some of these terms.

<sup>5</sup> Pahl. handerêtô which is thus described in Farh. Oîm, pp. 34, l. 8-35, l. 1: 'Av. handereiti, Pahl. handeretô, is that when, owing to negligence, *one* keeps any one exhausted; when *one* would make him fallen who is of the ruined, or him who is a master of arms, and *has* imprisoned him, the causing of much anguish thereby is the committal of incarceration.' See also § 44.

the increase of labourers' wages, wishing to cut (*vuridānō*) and squeeze (*pashkhādānō*) anything from any one, and seizing (*magidānō*) it for fire and water, and whatever is on the same subject. 2. Also about the limitation of the accusation of sin therein, the retribution for *it*, and the dust, or ashes, or flour, for the eyes and the rest of the bodies of human beings, it now<sup>1</sup> speaks henceforth for thirty successive heads<sup>2</sup>.

3. About the sin of making people eat bodily refuse<sup>3</sup>, and bringing *it* unlawfully to *their* persons or clothes; and of going to a menstrual woman, or a wizard. 4. About a juvenile and well-behaved woman who comes out from a house of those of the good religion, and is considered as well taught. 5. About falsehood and slander, small and great, and whatever is on the same subject. 6. About the care of a pregnant woman in lawful reclining (*khpāk*), feasting (*gashnō*), and work.

7. About a householder who does not teach his own household, *in order* to teach the household of another; and whatever is on the same subject. 8. About a quiet and an unquiet person with equal opinionativeness, and the opinion which *they have* to form before beginning. 9. About the expediency or inexpediency of the opinion which is announced, and the reason of both. 10. About the man who, for fear of a counter-assault, runs away.

11. Also about not renouncing sin, neglecting complaints, and whatever is on the same subject.

<sup>1</sup> Pâz. knîn (=knûn).

<sup>2</sup> Of which the details are not mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. hîkhar (Av. hikhra) is any refuse or dirt from the living body, or any liquid exudation from a corpse.

12. The difference of sin in priests from that in any one else, as regards *its* renunciation. 13. About the expediency of retribution, and the measure of the expediency. 14. About *and* to what extent is the authority of one's own priestly master, *for* allowing the sin which any other person may commit as regards a disciple of that same, and that, too, of his disciple affecting the soul.

15. About the chastisement of a judge who is releasing sinners, and whatever is on the same subject. 16. About the justifiableness of a plaintiff in committing illegality. 17. About seizing the purity produced for foreigners, and whatever is on the same subject. 18. About *one* worthy of death making supplication (*låvakö*), co-operation with *one* worthy of death, and whatever is on the same subject. 19. About confession as regards anything, the object of confession, and whatever is on the same subject. 20. About exhibiting a liking for sin worthy of death.

21. About a blow with a weapon, which is incomplete *or* not incomplete, when adults *or* children shall inflict *it*, *or* when children with mutual assistance. 22. About a wounded *person* whose anguish was allayed by medicine, the arising of the anguish again from disease, *when* he died, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

23. About taking security (*garðbō*) from the defendant after the decree of the judges. 24. About the legal proceedings as to an offence when, owing to the incapability of the plaintiff, adjournment has always occurred, *and* a man would occasion an acceleration of the statement of law (*dādō vāk*) *and of* the procedure of the plaintiff. 25. About appointing

a mediator (dâdak-gôbô), *and* the object of mediation.

26. About an assault (*zatam*) which is altogether of furious (*pûr-tâk*) origin. 27. And about a harmless (*âzad*) assault and striking back fairly to test a weapon, *and*, when it is not possible fairly, turning *it* into execution of duty, or giving of scars (*pisang-das*), or punishment; a statement of the change, and whatever is on the same subject. 28. About the limit of the punishment of a child for the sin it may commit. 29. About seeking an interpretation (*pâdö-khân*), the limit of interpreting, and whatever is on the same subject. 30. As regards a signal of approving the words *of* any one, on passing away, are these:—About giving up anything, making a will about it, *and* renunciation of sin.

31. About committing an assault *upon* an unknown person at an indefinite time, and whatever is on the same subject. 32. About giving a weapon *and* telling *some one* to kill a foreigner who is taken for judicial investigation, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 33. About the great hinderers<sup>1</sup> who are slain by a righteous man, who the great hinderers are, *and* unto whom it occurs; when *one has* to command *it* as assistance for one or many, or they shall commit the assault in advance *or* afterwards, and whatever is on the same subject. 34. About the weapon they shall seize *it is* stated thus: ‘I see a man and a sheep, I strike upon this *and* upon that, and *it is* gone:’ *and* whatever is upon the same subject.

<sup>1</sup> Doubtful: the word can be read *freh-gasîgân* on its first occurrence, and *freh-gasîgânô* on its last; but both reading and meaning are very uncertain.

35. About petitioning, *and* the going of a frontier governor (*mar'zpân*) to the feet of tyrants (*sâstâ-rânö*) to speak of regulations, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 36. Where *and* when *one* strikes a living *person* he vexes *him*, and the living *person* he strikes vexes *him when dead*; *but* he who strikes a dead *person* is vexed alive, and the dead *person* he strikes vexes *him when dead*; and whatever is on the same subject.

37. As to wood and useless pith (*dîl*), that which is for keeping is as far as a dimension that is mentioned, *and one*, therefore, passes *it* by not to burn; concerning also that wood which is only for the blast of a furnace (*gûrîh zigâ*) as firewood, the burning *and* dimensions and blast of the furnace *are stated*, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 38. About the sin through which a man attains from atonement to the sacred-twigs ordeal (*bâresmôk-varîh*), *and* from the sacred-twigs ordeal to the heat ordeal (*garemôk-varîh*) which *has* maintained the worthiness of an assault that is an actual inexcusability (*akârîh*)<sup>1</sup> to reasoning thought; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

39. About the excellence of physicians, *their* merit from doing good, *and* sin from not doing good; the quality that exists as regards medicines, seeking a physician for animals also, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 40. About a horse, which is new to the saddle (*kôfak*), *being* made tailless (*kapk*) and not feeding (*akhavânö*), how *it* is done, the sin owing to doing *it* unlawfully and heedlessly, the

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<sup>1</sup> It might be ‘inevitability,’ but this would render the ordeal unnecessary.

wound *and* damage that arise from it, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

41. About several persons, when anything that is imperfect, *or* even not imperfect, as a weapon is convenient to them, and a wound occurs, and *it* is not evident which, *or* who, threw the weapon, it is not necessary to know *its* imperfection *or* lack of imperfection<sup>1</sup>; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 42. About the three modes for thrusting a weapon are these *details*, that is, so much of it when *one* thrusts it on ground that is hard, or soft, or full of ruggednesses (*ākārīgānako*) ; when *one* shall bear it up aloft, and the amount of the height; *and* when *one* impels it again with a sweep, or *has* to draw up its centre at the time of a sweep; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 43. About an assault and the most hurtful occasion when, *for* the same reason, they would celebrate a religious rite; the retribution on the spot, *and* the sentence upon the fourth occasion<sup>2</sup>.

44. About incarcerating (*handerētō*) in a frightful and inaccessible (*avidarg*) place, and among noxious creatures; the quantity of noxious creatures, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 45. About grasping the tail of an ox, or a horse, on which *another* sits, to hold *it* back, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 46. About threatening danger,

<sup>1</sup> The fact of the wound being sufficient to prove the unlawfulness of using the weapon.

<sup>2</sup> According to Vend. IV, 35, if a man wounds another so that the blood comes, and does this for the *fourth* time, he becomes an outcast and receives the maximum punishment. Also, when a person walks without the sacred girdle or shirt (Vend. XVIII, 59), it is at the *fourth* step that the demons possess him.

wizard's spells<sup>1</sup>, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

47. About plaints as to the value of a lamb<sup>2</sup>, or a sheep<sup>3</sup>, or a beast *of burden* (*stôr*), or a human being (*vîrôk*)<sup>4</sup>; either *when* the plaintiffs are one, or two, or three, or four, or many; how *one has* to summon the defendant, and how much time *there is*.

48. About when the controversy (*han-bêshinîh*) is as to theft (*dûgö*), and the confession as to plunder (*avor*); or the controversy is as to plunder, *and* the confession as to theft; and when the controversy is as to injuring the existence<sup>5</sup>, *and* the confession as to minor injury; or the controversy is as to minor injury, and the confession as to injuring the existence; *and* when the controversy is as to theft *and* plunder, *and* the confession as to injuring the existence *and* minor injury; or the controversy is as to injuring the existence *and* minor injury, *and* the confession as to theft *and* plunder. 49. And when the controversy is about so much, *and* the confession about so much *of* a different kind; when the controversy is about so much, and the confession about more of a different kind; when the controversy is about so much, *and* the confession about less *of* a different kind; when the controversy is about so much, *and* the confession as to more of the same kind; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XVII, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. Av. *asperenô* (=Pahl. *anaspôrîk*) 'imperfect, immature;' an epithet for a lamb or kid.

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. *anûmôyê* (Av. *anumaya*), probably 'bleater,' an epithet for a sheep or goat.

<sup>4</sup> These four grades of value are mentioned in Vend. IV, 48.

<sup>5</sup> See § 1. .

50. About the sin of unfriendliness *of* a master towards a disciple, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 51. About taking a thief of any one's goods (*aīsigānō*), conducting *him* to the judges, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 52. This, too, that when affliction has come upon a good *man*, the effort of every one, for removing that affliction, should continue just as though it happened to himself. 53. And when a good *man* is beaten through malice, the effort of every one, in demanding compensation for him from the smiter, should continue just as though it happened to himself. 54. And this, too, that, when there is no danger for one, the power of affording assistance is thus assistance *of* the innocent; *and*, as to the property which may be carried *away* from him, *and of which* they shall make no restitution, after as much as a Hâsar<sup>1</sup> the carrier *off* becomes guilty *and* liable to penalty.

55. About the distinction of indigenous and foreign (*āīr va-an-āīr*) thieves as to cold and the clothing given, *and* as to sickness *and* undergoing remedies. 56. About the hands of a foreigner *being* unfettered for no other reason but care of water and fire, to

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<sup>1</sup> A Hâsar (Av. hâthra) is a measure of distance, as well as of time. This is stated in Farh. Oîm, pp. 41, l. 11-42, l. 3, thus:— 'Of the Hâsar there are also several kinds that express measurement. A medium Hâsar on the ground, which they call also a Parasang, is a thousand steps of two feet which have to walk. With the lapse of time of a medium Hâsar the day and night are computed.' Again, p. 43, ll. 1-3 state that 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day; that day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least.' From this it appears that an average Hâsar of distance is a thousand paces, or Roman mile; and an average Hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes.

preserve *them* from blood, filth, and injury (âsipō).

57. About the sin of not restraining him who is the first assailant of two combatants, as soon as his attack is seen. 58. About teaching the peace of renunciation of *sin*, the bond of worthiness of him of great power even when proffering union in renunciation with him of little power, and whatever is on the same subject.

59. On the nature of responding about the keeping away from *one* worthy of death which arises through great judiciousness, the reason of keeping, how to keep, and whatever is on the same subject.

60. And on the nature of responding when they ask in malice about a righteous man, when *one* knows his whereabouts, and when *one* does not know.

61. About how *one* is to give a weapon to generals (hēn-gō-padānō) and august frontier governors.

62. About authorisedly shooting an arrow at *one* worthy of death, which is given again for killing him to any one unto whom the person worthy of death is consigned and becomes supplicating (lānakō) and goes to the middle of the distance, and they shall afford him assistance and enervate him for it, when, through the three words<sup>1</sup> which he utters, they do not deliver him up again. 63. About *one* worthy of death who is preserved with great judiciousness when the evidence, which they give before that about him, is through another *one* worthy of death, and whatever is on the same subject. 64. About evidence as to witchcraft and destroying a righteous man, that is, in what propor-

<sup>1</sup> Possibly hāmat, hūkht, hūvarst, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' which would be accepted as a sign of repentance.

tion it is certain or doubtful. 65. About causing the execution of *one* worthy of death *for* entertaining fondness for witchcraft and laughing at witchcraft, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

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## CHAPTER XX.

*Nikâdîm Nask.*

1. *In* the fifth section are twenty-four particulars<sup>1</sup> about the standing up and going forth of a man with a weapon and angry thoughts towards *another* man; and also when he takes a beast *of burden*, saddles *it*, and sits upon *it*, takes the rein<sup>2</sup> (*ayôkham*) in hand and walks *away*; this, too, that, when he arrives there, he smites that *man*, or some one else; and whatever is on the same subject. 2. About what *one has* to do when the conversation of two men is *of* the destruction of a righteous man, *of* highway robbery, and *of* the cursing owing thereto; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 3. About what *one has* to do when, of two men who are *on* the same road, one slays a righteous man; *and about* the other when *he is* fearless, *and* when *he is* fearful. 4. About preserving *one* worthy of death when it is requisite for medical purposes (*bezashkîh*), though the plaintiff is *of* a different opinion; and whatever is on the same subject.

5. About the needlessness of plaintiffs *and* defendants speaking as to the substance (*min tanû*) of

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<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether these twenty-four particulars are to be sought in the details of § 1, or in the whole chapter, or some portion of it.

<sup>2</sup> Merely a guess.

the law, when the witness and judge is the supreme priest ; the confidence which they may place in the decision of the supreme priest, due to his own knowledge and evidence, when, moreover, *they have* not to atone in the body; and the want of confidence in another judge when, moreover, *they have* to atone in the body, and the needfulness of plaintiffs and defendants speaking on the substance (*val tanû*) of the law, even when the judge is aware of the law. 6. About unauthorised combatants, become mutually sinful, when, to dissipate (*sikhtanõ*) a wound of the one, *he* would make the *other* one worthy of death. 7. About supplies (*pishôn*)<sup>1</sup> in travelling together, and their renewal; and whatever is on the same subject.

8. About inflicting penalties by magistrates, the assistance of the unmagisterial given to magistrates, the assistance of the magistrates, and the exemption of these latter from atonement to those former; likewise about conversation as to an assault, and whatever is on the same subject. 9. About the evasion of penalty by men at the time when a sin may be committed, and the arrest of their nearest relations being important, in whatever measure implicated therein and impossible to consider innocent; how to confine and make them really coerced to seek a remedy, and whatever is on the same subject. 10. About the powerfulness which comforts in sin where there is any special worthiness, and the reason

<sup>1</sup> Compare Pers. *bising*, Av. *fshaoni*. In some cases it might perhaps be read *pikhvô*, and be traced to Av. *pithwa*. The word often occurs, as in § 11, Chaps. XXIII, 3, 15, XXVI, 10, XXVII, 4, 6, XXXI, 25, 36, XXXVII, 5, 7, 22, XLI, 19, 23, XLIII, 19, and its meaning, ‘provision, or nourishment,’ is well ascertained.

of any worthiness ; the want of power where *there is* special unworthiness, and the reason of any unworthiness ; the production of the good works of one towards another of the powerful, *and* of the sin of one of those lacking power ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

11. About the plaint which *one has* to argue, and for the defendant to dispute ; the time for making the statement (*gôbô*) when the defendant does not come, or comes not to conduct the business ; the several peculiarities of plaintiff and defendant, the time for conducting *being* on the day before yesterday, the firm *one* and the powerless, the incrimination therein, the death-blow on the exhaustion of the possessions of the plaintiff, and provisions for conducting the legal proceedings ; a privileged wife<sup>1</sup> shall be capable of making a plaint *for her* husband, and *of* informing the husband of the plaint ; when her property is anything whatever, and nothing is manifest as to that wealth, *she* is to be admitted for evidence ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

12. About the ordeal of those *who have* atoned, *of* those *undergoing* the sacred-twig ordeal, *and of* those *undergoing* the heat ordeal, *who are* pure ; the freedom from falsehood of which, each separately, which they, every one of them, request when the ordeal is not that for their own station, but that for the station of others ; and whatever is on the same subject. 13. About the object of any evidence, and, on account of the reason of *its* propriety, the impropriety of any one *being* without evidence ; *and* what-

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<sup>1</sup> One married to her husband with the parents' consent, and never betrothed to another, so that she and her children belong to him in both worlds (see Bd. XXXII, 6 n).

ever is on the same subject. 14. About the reality of a statement due to an ordeal, and so many *having* gone to the ordeal place for the sake of watching the first-comer *and* after-comer; the time of performance, the statement, the ceremonial and the invulnerableness due to it; the kinds of incrimination, how to protect the limbs by which the ordeal is accomplished, *and* each one of the formulas (*nîrang*) of protection; the superintendence for observing the ceremonial, *and* the decision about the acquitted or convicted *one*. 15. This, too, that is, whose going to the ordeal place is first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth; *and by whom* is the command to be given. 16. About the business of the ordeal attendants (*var aûstigânö*). 17. About incrimination through confession, or *some* other reason, the reliance restored thereby, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 18. About a thief destroying life *and* escaping, the suspicion owing thereto, about any one, as to assisting the thief, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 19. About *there* being no ordeal for those confessing, *and* so also as regards those of good repute; accusation as to the existence of a limit to the good repute, even that which is for the extent of a *Yûgyâst*, a *Dashmest*, an *Agoyôst*, a *Takar*, and a *Hâsar*<sup>1</sup> *at the least*.

<sup>1</sup> The relative lengths of these five measures of distance are stated in Farh. Oñm, p. 41, ll. 9-11, as follows:—‘So much as two *Dashmest* (Av. *dakhshmaiti*) is as much as a *Yûgyast* (Av. *yugyasti*); so much as two *Agoyôhast* is as much as a *Dashmest*; so much as two *Takar* is as much as an *Agoyôhast*; *and so much* as two *Hâsar* (Av. *hâthra*) is as much as a *Takar* (Av. *tañkara*).’ As the average *Hâsar* is a Roman mile (see Chap. XIX, 54 n), the *Takar* (‘run?’) is two, the *Agoyôst* or *Agoyôhast* (‘cattle-run?’)

20. About litigation as to a costly article, when a witness of *its* possession by the one *party* is combined with non-possession by the *other* one with no witness, or with *its* possession by the *other* one with a single witness; or the witness of one is with the sacred beings, and *its* possession by the *other* one is likewise not manifest; when both *parties* are related (*khidyahik*), or both are unrelated (*anazdihik*); and what kind of possession they say is most real.

21. About annulling the decision of a judge, and the time it is done at the *court of* a chief judge, and also owing to an ordeal for certainty; and whatever is on the same subject. 22. About the litigation of three persons as to property it is declared, so much is given to one on the day *Aûharmazd* to the day *Vohûman*<sup>1</sup>, to another one on the day *Ardavahist*, and possession is not made over to the third one at all.

23. About selling property which is not one's own, and whatever is on the same subject. 24. About controversy as to anything which ought not to occur. 25. About any essential dispute that any one has, when agreeing thus: 'I do not have it as my own, but owing to the other person;' and whatever is on the same subject. 26. About the litigation of an Irânian with a foreigner, or with foreigners, of a

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Av. *gaoyaoiti?*) is four, the *Dashmêst* ('distance-mark?') is eight, and the *Yûgyâst* ('stage?') is sixteen miles. This series of distances is analogous to the Sanskrit series, but more elaborate; the *Hâsar* is best compared with the *Krosa* as the commonest unit of moderate distance, though less than half its usual length; the *Agoyôst* is nearly the same as the *Gavyûta*; and the *Yûgyâst* is analogous to the *Yogana*, though nearly double its length.

<sup>1</sup> That is, on the first or second day of the Parsi month; and to the other on the third day.

foreigner with an Irâanian, or a slave with a man of the country, as to a costly article; and whatever is on the same subject. 27. About a much-clamouring plaintiff *having* summoned defendants to the judges regarding a decision, and about the perverted wordiness and mixed verbiage in the legal proceedings; and whatever is on the same subject.

28. About the time for a high-priest of property and possessions, what is the specific necessity for a high-priest, and whatever is on the same subject.

29. About the fitness of a woman for evidence and judgeship when guardian over herself, and the unfitness of a privileged *wife*<sup>1</sup> who is a foreigner and worthy of death for only a single *offence*, even with the authority of *her* husband; and whatever is on the same subject.

30. About the owner of a pledge not depositing the pledge beforehand, and whatever is on the same subject.

31. About giving up the property of partners, and whatever is on the same subject.

32. About the property that any one possesses, and is without any witness as to his ownership and possession *of it*.

33. About the ordeal of excessive eating (*pâûrû-khûrânô*) for escaping distress (*mûst-kar zîh*) by plaintiffs and defendants before driving each other into legal proceedings, and whatever is on the same subject.

34. About the legal proceedings as to a female<sup>2</sup> they steal from some one, and she becomes a suppliant of a thief; some one takes *her* by sequestration (*hakîdakîh*)<sup>3</sup>, and they steal *her* also from him;

<sup>1</sup> See § 11 n.

<sup>2</sup> A slave no doubt.

<sup>3</sup> This is the technical term for legal seizure, or sequestration (see Chap. XXXIX).

the original *possessor* (*bûn*) sees his own, not knowing *she is* back alive, when they become disputing about her; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

35. About property which is in the possession of any one, when some one gives *it* up to some one else in his sight, *and* he does not dispute *it*. 36. About a master teaching a disciple not to go back to legal proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

37. About controversy, with any one, as to special property in righteous gifts, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

38. About legal proceedings in which *one* accomplishes an ordeal three times, and it comes *off* in one way; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 39. About the existence of the many kinds of speaking with wizard's spells<sup>1</sup>, *and* those with threats of danger;

and about the usage in witchcraft as to the moderate *and* justifiable production of mutual afflictiveness thereby. 40. About which is the ordeal for *one* worthy of death, the greatness and littleness of an ordeal, and also this, that is, which are the blessed among twenty of those undergoing ordeals. 41. About the proportion of firewood, and from which tree it ought *to be* good; and again, too, the several appliances and formulas that are necessary in accomplishing the ordeal. 42. And this, too, that when the man is aware of his own truth, even though *he be* aware of *it*, the fire speaks in the words of men thus: 'Walk not on to me! for I chastise during one's progress.'

43. About *one* still mediating in legal proceedings as to a thief who *has* acted faithfully about quitting confinement and fetters to

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<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XVII, 6.

cause a ceremonial<sup>1</sup>, and whatever is on the same subject.

44. About the wealth of a priest who is not keeping his property in edifices (*a ûzdesikîh*) or domains (*matâ*), but goes on with *his* occupation; and when he passes away, to whom and how it has to come.

45. About litigation as to property from the residuary wealth of fathers, about keeping *it* together (*vâ-ham-dâr*), and whatever is on the same subject.

46. About the amount of retribution, *in confinement*, fettering, and punishment, for a lamb<sup>2</sup>, a sheep, or a beast of burden, which is stolen; and whatever is on the same subject. 47. About a defendant regarding whom three plaintiffs complain, all three as comrades, one as to a lamb, one as to a sheep, and one as to a beast of burden; and whose answer is first given.

48. About the litigation of three persons as to a costly article which remains apart from them, he who deposited it being a strong person, and the ownership of not even one of them being certain. 49. About the coming of retribution to three persons who, all three as comrades, have stolen a lamb from one, a sheep from another one, and a beast of burden from a third one.

50. About the reason of the justifiableness, and that also of the unjustifiableness, of confining a fellow-countryman for his own theft, and whatever is on the same subject. 51. About the extent of continuance in hearing a defendant, and this, too, as to a plaintiff; also about the time appointed for speaking, and its extent. 52. And about this,

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<sup>1</sup> Or it may be 'to provide supplies.'

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XIX, 47.

namely, when any one has made an accusation about any other, *and* goes back at the time appointed, *and*, before a reply is given, he shall make out another accusation about the same man, to which *of the two accusations* a reply is to be first given. 53. About the reason of the hardship of legal proceedings; about what man *it is* whose statement is second, third, fourth, *and* last in conducting legal proceedings; and about the twenty-two stratagems in conducting legal proceedings.

54. About the cancelling (*pâdyârânîh*) of an ordeal, even that which is accomplished with three selected witnesses. 55. About the season of the hot ordeal, and also that of the cold; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 56. About one, in a procedure, demanding an ordeal, *the other one having* appointed the time for the supreme priest, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 57. About the benediction of the supreme priest on making, *or* changing, a decision; also this, namely, which are the blessings for changing, through *their* nature, a decision which is made.

58. About evidence of walking upon a water-skin (*khîk*) *and* putting *something* inside *it*, *of* assault and wounds, *of* wealth which they squander (*nikizend*) and a righteous gift, *of* a damaged and sequestered thing; and *of* rubbing up (*pâdö-mâlisnö*) and buying *it* strengthened<sup>1</sup>, and *at* a price. 59. On litigation about the ownership of a wife, cattle, trees, *and* land; and whatever is on the same subject. 60. About the certainty *of* the statement of several leaders of an affair, as to that on which their affair

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<sup>1</sup> Pâz. aôganghen for Av. aoganghem=aoganghem (see also Chap. XLI, 17, 18).

*depends, and of* the supreme priest, or three witnesses, in every legal proceeding. 61. About incrimination (*airikhtakih*) of several kinds as to statements in legal proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 62. About the modes of action for eradicating the deceptions (*frēvōānō-fitār*) of apostates, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

63. About *cases* where the virtuousness of the thoughts, words, *and* deeds of mankind is all *derived* from the virtuousness of the beneficent spirit, and mankind themselves shall render *it* their own, and, in that way, *its* reward reaches them; and *their* viciousness is all *derived* from the viciousness of the evil spirit, *and* mankind themselves shall render *it* their own, and, in that way, *its* bridge *penalty*<sup>1</sup> reaches them.

64. About the injuriousness due to unrenounced sinfulness, that is, what is injured by the first, second, third, fourth, *or* fifth unrenounced Aredūs *sin*<sup>2</sup>. 65. About where *and* which is the speaking with threats of danger<sup>3</sup>, *and* which is the taking up of a weapon (*âgêreptō*), not the turning *it* down, that becomes a Tanâpûhar *sin*<sup>4</sup>; also the sin which is owing to such sin.

<sup>1</sup> The decision announced at the *Kînvad* bridge (see Chap. XIV, 8), as to the fate of the soul until the renovation of the universe, after the account of its good works and sins has been accurately balanced.

<sup>2</sup> Farh. Oîm, p. 36, ll. 6, 7, has ‘when through sinfulness one lays a weapon upon a sinner, the name is Aredûs.’

<sup>3</sup> See Chaps. XVII, 6, XIX, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Whereby a person becomes an outcast and worthy of death. According to Vend. IV, 67–72, 75–78, 81–84, this occurs on the eighth committal of an *Âgêreptō*, on the seventh of an *Avôristō*, and on the sixth of an *Aredûs*; or on the first committal of any of the three, if the criminal refuses to atone for it.

66. About *the case* where *one has* to atone, *and who does it*; *he* who undergoes the sacred-twigs ordeal *has atoned best*; and which is the least heat ordeal. 67. About two men *having seized* property together, and *having* together, at the time, demanded a judge and ordeal about it; and when one seizes the property some time earlier, and the *other* one demands the judge and ordeal earlier; and whatever is on the same subject. 68. About some one carrying *off* the property of a person from the custody of *another* person in sight of the same, and he who kept it before is, within a Hâsar<sup>1</sup>, a witness before the judge as to *its* custody or possession; and also when the witness of it has not come within the Hâsar; and whatever is on the same subject.

69. About *cases* where the decision of the judge is to be made from the Avesta and Zand<sup>2</sup>, or from the common consent of the good<sup>3</sup>, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 70. About the justifiable selling of a man, a sheep, *or* a beast of burden, as free from defect when its defect is not obvious; also about the symptoms of their defects. 71. About *the case* where *and* how far a decision, about which *one* is in dispute, is a solitary statement, *or* more.

72. About the object of the appointment of a judge, the eminence of an appointed judge, and whatever is on the same subject. 73. About the reasonableness of the severity and want of severity

<sup>1</sup> Eighty minutes on the average (see Chap. XIX, 54 n), but varying from one hour to two, according to the duration of daylight.

<sup>2</sup> That is, from the scriptural law and its commentary.

<sup>3</sup> That is, according to precedents recorded by the priesthood.

of judges. 74. And this, too, that the judgeship is to be given to him *who* is acquainted with the law (*âkâs-dâd*)<sup>1</sup>; and the object of acquaintance with the law. 75. About *the case* where *there* are a supreme judge of the law, a plaint, a defence, an arrangement of legal proceedings, *and* an award; *and* through what sin it becomes injustice. 76. And this, too, that the justice of him who may therein commit falsehood, as regards so many essential decisions, is injustice.

77. About the many who may seize wealth, which is the property of some one, with their own hands; *and*, when they litigate about it, he says *it is* his own property, whereby *they* are convicted. 78. About incrimination of five kinds as to whatever property is on the spot, *or* at a distance (*pavan hâsar*); *and* whatever is on the same subject. 79. About putting apart, keeping apart<sup>2</sup>, and two apart before *being* put away; *also* about litigation as to keeping apart, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 80. And when some one *has* to deliver property *which* is a person's own to some one else, in the

<sup>1</sup> This term is explained in an extract from some Nask (compare Chap. XLIII, 9) quoted in Farh. Oîm, pp. 17, l. 9-18, l. 5, as follows:—‘*Av. kô asti dkaêshô vivisdâtô*, which is the judge who is acquainted with the law? *Av. yô aêta pairi arethra frazânaiti*, *he* who thoroughly understands the adjudication from the statements [even though he does not easily understand many of the statements, and though *it be* not easy as regards the statements which are not numerous, is an official who is acquainted with the law (*kardâr-i âkâs-dâd*); *and* *he* who does not thoroughly understand the adjudication from the statements, even though the statements are not numerous, and *it be* not easy *for him* as regards *them*, is to be still considered as unacquainted with the law (*anâkâs-dâd*)].’

<sup>2</sup> Compare § 115.

sight of him whose own *it is*, and he who is seizing upon *it* disputes about *it* as his own property; and whatever is on the same subject.

81. About disputing the debts of fathers when one of *their* associates is confessing *them*, and the rest have come, and it is possible for them to dispute *them*, *but* they do not dispute. 82. *And* about the progress of a dispute of one of the associates as to the whole debt of *one's* fathers. 83. About the possibility of children *being* worthy of death, for wizard's spells, when with their guardian; and of a woman *being so* when guardian of herself. 84. About a case where the amount of a lamb (*mīdat-i asperenō*) is the lowest, and the amount of a human being (*vīrōk mozd*) is the highest<sup>1</sup>. 85. About theft and plunder as regards one's own property, when *one* brings *it* away from the possession of some one without dispute. 86. About the triumph of him who, falsely investigating, may act judicially by illegally-issued incentives, when he institutes legal proceedings for the sake of appearances<sup>2</sup>; *as distinguished* from him who is truly seeking and truly investigating.

87. About the statements of a litigation of man and wife, which is justifiably brought on<sup>3</sup>. 88. And also this, namely, when she sees *herself* injured, or defence is possible by means of that which

<sup>1</sup> The minimum and maximum grades of value mentioned in Chap. XIX, 47. Here it is evident that *mīdat* and *mozd* are synonyms, the former being, no doubt, the *Zvāris*, or Semitic, equivalent of the latter, compare Chald. נְזָב.

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. khâkūnâhâ, literally 'through making a dust.'

<sup>3</sup> Or it may be 'of a man and a woman who is domineeringly plundered.'

is discharged by two fingers<sup>1</sup>, it is justifiable when they shall institute no litigation but seizing. 89. About the person who has become privileged to give away a daughter to a husband, her father having passed away. 90. About the sin of making a damsel (kanik) weary of her husband. 91. About the sin as regards property in this action, either produced where the action for this purpose is really devoid of illiberality (adahisnîh), or to commit in order that they shall give me a wife even when they do not give her on that account. 92. About the sin of giving a girl (kanik) for a girl, or other living thing, or of speaking thus : 'Do thou go in unto my sister, or daughter, while I, too, will go in unto thine.' 93. And the sin as regards the person of my wife, too, which is owing to that sin. 94. About one obtaining back the value which he gives away for a girl, when the girl is not that value in wedlock. 95. About a girl who, after fifteen years of age, is not given to a husband ; and her father, to satisfy her menstrual excitement (dashtân-mêyah vigârdanô), and to sustain it, becomes sinful and harbours a paramour ; and whatever is on the same subject.

96. About having given food, and anything except a wife, to any one who praises the Mazda-worshippers' religion of another, even though it be through fear ; also this, that it is only he, when he has thereby become quite of the same tenets with the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, to whom the gift of a wife worthy of a man (vîr masâî) is then to be pre-

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<sup>1</sup> That is, in some very easy way. The intention was probably to discourage petty disputes between man and wife, by not interfering with the stronger party when aggrieved.

sented. 97. About committing the sin of giving no food<sup>1</sup>, which is *one* of those worthy of death. 98. About the duty imposed of chastising a wizard for the Tanâpûhar *sin*<sup>2</sup> of assisting a demon<sup>3</sup>, so that one's duty is manifold, and to be accomplished during several years.

99. About the day and night which are longest, medium, and shortest; that is, how many Hâsars<sup>4</sup> *they are*, each separately; and, *as to* their occurrence, in what control is the appointed *time* which is really theirs, each one, as to period. 100. About the Parâsang<sup>5</sup> which is the longest, medium, and shortest; and whatever is owing to *their* subdivision.

101. About the work *and* fodder (vâsân)<sup>6</sup> of an injured beast *of burden*, by day and night. 102. About a sheep which kills a person, and *whether* its owner *be* innocent, or sinful, through not putting a tether (band) upon *it*; and the reason of the sinfulness and innocence therein. 103. About the period that *extends* from certainty to dubiousness, even though *it be* for the supreme priest, or *one* provides three witnesses; and how long it is. 104. About the multitude of witnesses who give no evidence, *together* with the judge *who is* unjustly deciding.

105. About the injuriousness (âzârikîh), for the

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XVII, 6.

<sup>2</sup> See § 65.

<sup>3</sup> Reading dêv-vigîn which is miswritten देवविग्न.

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. XIX, 54 n.

<sup>5</sup> A distance of four Hâsars (Bd. XVI, 7), or as far as a far-seeing man can distinguish a black ox from a white one (Bd. XXVI, 2). It is usually from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 English miles, but in Pahlavi texts it often stands for a Hâsar, or Roman mile, both being measures for long distances.

<sup>6</sup> Or 'rations' (vâyagân).

priestly authorities, *of anything that* is given to the unworthy. 106. About what kind of gift, that is given, was accepted; that is, how, when given by one when *another* claims *it*, it returns to him; how, and in what proportion, when *the other* does not claim *it*, its expediency does not arise; and whatever is on the same subject. 107. About *a case* where there is property of several kinds which a man *has* given away as a righteous gift, *and it* is allowable. 108. About *the case* where whatever is given *and* reaches *some one*, when he gives it and does not say how *it was* given, it becomes a righteous gift. 109. And about *its not having* become a gift, through fear of whatever is its danger.

110. About the theft and extortion *of him* who does not maintain the wives and children of persons in *his control*, to preserve and nourish *them*, through fear. 111. About the allotment of punishment for the limbs of sinners, *and* upon which limbs is the allotment. 112. About the atonement for sin where *it is* most irksome. 113. About the amount of retribution for an assault (*zatam*) which may be committed upon *one* worthy of death who is preserved through great judiciousness.

114. About Aûharmazd *having* given all prosperity to Zarâtûst and the disciples of Zarâtûst; the theft and extortion which have arisen *in a man* when *he has* not given to a worthy *person any* of the prosperity that has befallen him; and whatever is on the same subject. 115. About how an animate *being* is situated who is in *a place apart* (*aham*), and when he dies in innocence and keeping apart<sup>1</sup>, his

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<sup>1</sup> Compare § 79.

wound *being* also through duty; and whatever is on the same subject. 116. About the advantage and pleasure of keeping a promise (*mitro-dârîh*), and the gravity, harm, and vexation owing to various degrees of promise-breaking (*mitrôk-drûgîh*); *also* how a promise is kept. 117. About the grievous sinfulness of strife, insincerity (*avâkhîh*), and slander, and the harm that proceeds therefrom; *also* the frost (*pazd*) and punishment provided for them<sup>1</sup>, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

118. About *having* given frontier people<sup>2</sup> *as* hostages (*garôbô*) to foreigners *who have* demanded a ransom (*navisnô*). 119. About taking up (*lâlâ gêrefstanô*) anything whatever that is precious to a foreigner, and *has* become of exceeding value, when they give *it* up as a ransom<sup>3</sup> *to* Irân; the extreme value of a youth (*tigil*) when they shall carry *him* off as a hostage from the foreigners, in place of ransom; *and* how *they* are to keep both. 120. About the grievous sinfulness of a man stealing back *his* ransom from foreigners, though *it be* his own son. 121. About the sinfulness of the governor (*sardâr*) of a province through *any* harm that occurs in the province owing to his elevation and evil commands.

122. About the existence of so many thieves assisting a thief with special ransom, *and* what kind of reward (*navisnô*) *one* is to use with thieves, to

<sup>1</sup> In hell (compare AV. XL, 7).

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. *mar'sânân*, which might be supposed to be a defective writing of *margar'gânân*, 'those worthy of death' (the two letters equivalent to *r̥ga* being omitted), but see Chap. XXI, 13.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. *pâk* is evidently a defective writing for *navâk* which is written correctly in the next clause of this section.

deceive with great judiciousness. 123. About attaching to the neck of a thief the *thing* which *was* stolen by him, for his personal identification, *and* conducting *him* to the judges. 124. About the non-atonement of thieves, by any amount of anything whatever, without confession as regards their own sin. 125. About the assistance *to* possession which is claimed by any one from the authorities (*padân*), when his property is stolen or extorted.

126. About the grievous sinfulness *and* deceitfulness of many kinds which *occur* when a woman who is given away with *her* concurrence, *and her* acceptance is announced, is given to another man; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 127. About the unjustifiableness of the wisdom of a man, through which he took away property in dispute, from him who *was* ignorant, before *there was* certainty *about it*. 128. About making intercession in a dispute, for him who is ignorant, *with* the judge *and* other authorities *and* chiefs, even including the king of kings<sup>1</sup>, when there is no intercessor for him. 129. About the reason of the fitness *of* a man for sovereignty, and the judgment of Aûharmazd upon the limited (*tang*) person of him who is a good ruler.

130. About the five special ordinances (*dâdistân*) that are certain; these are without ordeal, because *they* are to be considered as certain, *and* the penalties thereof are to be fully inflicted. 131. About investigation after confession. 132. About squandering (*nikiz and*) wealth of which the custom (*dastôbar*) of maintaining is begging for *it*. 133. About the progress (*sakisnö*) of legal proceedings not *having*

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<sup>1</sup> The Persian monarch.

occurred, *which* is not demanded on account of the existence of want of power, *and* the number of kinds of that want of power. 134. About a woman without a guardian, when she takes a paramour, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

135. About bringing a written statement into judicial proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 136. About the sin of frightening any one from his place, when he shall move on account of that fright, and the amount of movement and harm which will come upon him therefrom. 137. The delivery back of that which is extorted from *one's* hands or keeping; that is, how *it* is to be considered as delivered.

138. About the obviousness of a minor adjudication from that which is greater. 139. About the extreme benefit *and* peace, even in *this* world, through a wife and children *and* grandchildren, and also the prosperity, as regards produce and even wealth thereby, taking away the disputes that arise. 140. About the grievous sinfulness of wealth *acquired* through unnatural intercourse<sup>1</sup>, the annihilation of the spiritual faculties (*mānōgānō*). 141. About a decree in which the decision is of three descriptions, about three persons. 142. About a tree which, when stolen away, is the death-blow (*māt*) of a hundred pure birds (*vâē*), *and* a thousand birds arise.

143. About a sin which, owing to deceiving previously, *has* to increase (*frāz mastanō*) its extent, and to fully taste the extremest crime of a dagger

<sup>1</sup> Vāmkūnīh, compare Pers. bāmūn. It cannot be ‘making loans, or money-lending,’ because that would be spelt *āvāmkūnīh*.

(dahrakō) of several of the smallest finger-breadths.

144. About the sin of defiling four-footed females.

145. About keeping back one of the combatants from fighting, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

146. About counter-assaults of eight kinds, assault when an infidel shall commit *it* upon *one* of the good religion, and whatever is on the same subject. 147.

About a counter-assault of a heretic (dūs-dēnō) when an arch-heretic (sarītar-dēnō) is slain.

148. About not leaving any property in the keeping of *one* worthy of death. 149. About such numbers of abettors of sin *being* with the sinner, and whatever is on the same subjects. 150. About the injury of a plaint and defence, and the dwelling,

property, and feast of the good, *by* that person who extols the presidentship which is given him, *but* who is not fit for the presidentship. 151. About the

sinfulness of a judge when he shall make a decision for any one according to his origin. 152. About the

grievous sinfulness of delivering the person of an Irānian to a foreigner, *and* whatever is on the same

subject.

153. About the greatness of the gift of a righteous man, as compared with (min) the gift of another,

for Rashnū<sup>1</sup>, the just, to proclaim among the creatures *and* to accept. 154. This, too, that, when

they encounter an apostate *and* it is necessary to hold a controversy, though *there be* danger for the hands or feet, *or* though even for the head, *there is*

*to be* no refraining from asserting that which is true.

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<sup>1</sup> The angel of justice who weighs the good works of the departed soul against its sins, in order to decide its fate till the end of time.

155. This, too, that he who does not assert, on account of fondness for wealth, or dislike for his own *people*, vexes water and fire and the righteous man, and disturbs even the reposing archangels from their thrones.

156. About the grievous sinfulness of making the righteous dissevered (*aûskâftakö*). 157. About the bad properties produced by the evil spirit, adjudication attentive to lying evidence and false, in opposition to Rashnû, the just, *and* through discontent at the advantage due to Rashnû, owing to the impossibility of the occurrence of those mischiefs *being* produced at Rashnû's *judgment* seat, there where they do not give decisions for the wretched for the sake of the aristocratic multitude (*âzâd hâvandîh râî*). 158. And about the aristocratic multitude which comes to Rashnû owing to taking bribes, and went with a complaint to Aûharmazd, and whatever is on the same subject. 159. About a just judge who is appointed *one* of an assembly for the opposition of thieves, oppressors, *and* destroyers of the righteous.

160. About the possibility of the coming of every one, through diligence, to the best existence. 161. About the superiority (*masîh*) of true justice over (*min*) other good works, *and* the grievous sinfulness owing to false justice, and when they shall not deliver a sentence *with* a full understanding of the true from the false.

162. About solemnizing *and* learning by heart (*narm kardanö*) the Gâthas, the Hâdokht<sup>1</sup>, and

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<sup>1</sup> Here written Hâdôitô; the name of the twentieth Nask (see Chap. XLV).

the Vastag<sup>1</sup>, through knowing the foundations (pâyakân) thereof; the sin owing to not knowing them, and whatever proceeds therefrom. 163. About the greatness of the law through decrees and judgments from other discourses (srôbân).

164. About property of seven kinds, of which one says that it is not allowable to take it as security for other property. 165. About ten friends with different assertions on the same subject.

166. And about the apportionment of this discourse there are complete decisions of several other kinds, and into those, too, it advances and thereby introduces much adjudication which takes heed, in every one, of words and deeds of many kinds, and is specifically and also intelligibly apportioned.

167. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

## CHAPTER XXI.

1. The first of eighteen sections of the Ganabâ-sar-nigad<sup>2</sup> contains particulars about the thief, with his arrest as the special thief of that which is seized (tereftö) by him; the premeditated sin, the imprisonment and fettering, the punishment appointed for atonement of the sin, the execution of the duty,

<sup>1</sup> The name of the eleventh Nask (see Chap. XII).

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding to the sixteenth word, ahurâi, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the eighteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. Ganabâ-sar-nigad means 'the thief's head downstricken;' but it is misread Dvâsrûgad, Dvâsrûngad, Dvâsrûgîd, or Dvâsrôb, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained sixty-five kardah, or subdivisions, which agree with the numbers of sections mentioned in Chaps. XXI, XXIII, XXIV. This Nask is evidently named from the contents of its first section, and possibly from its initial words.

and the amount of the reward (*navisn*); the amount of speciality in the ransom (*navâk*) of every one, each separately; the act *and* place of punishment, what is the person who is strangling and the mode, how those who are therein strangling are drawn forth (*nazi-aitö*) successively, *and* which is set to work first.

2. About a person whose offending limbs *are* bound, the degree of tightness of the binding and fettering, and the formula (*nîrang*) of *being* bound for the sin of theft. 3. About imprisonment, and the imprisonment which accusers *have* to provide, *at* their own expense, *if* they are those who are privileged; and whatever is on the same subject. 4. The number of places for fetters, and those which the thief, whoever *he is*, possesses, each separately. 5. How far, how, *and* for what putting on of fetters (*garov-dahisnîh*) those accusers *have* to provide a thief's fetters, too, *at* their own expense, *if* they are those who are privileged; the place for the requisite privileged putting on of fetters, the sin owing to putting on more fetters of a different kind, and that which is owing to neglecting the putting on of the fetters which *they have* to provide; the limit as regards the deserving of more fettering, the number of grades of theft beyond the limit of deserving fettering, and those which are below the limit of deserving fettering.

6. About the kinds of theft, and the excessive sinfulness of a thief through cutting<sup>1</sup> and wounding the body; the undiscoverableness which is specially as regards a thief at a distance (*pavan hâsar*), he

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<sup>1</sup> Assuming that *gûdanö* stands for *khûdanö*.

who is on the spot *being* he who is within one step ; theft, with plunder, injuring the existence<sup>1</sup>, minor injury, and other sins, *may be* in confederacy<sup>2</sup> beforehand *or* afterwards. 7. About the thievish design of a theft which is not abetted (*lā ham*), a theft with equal shares, and a theft with different shares.

8. About the sin of assisting a thief (*dūg aīyyārak*), *of* making investigation and releasing, *of* a sentence of acquittal, and *of* a listener to a thief; he who is a giver of assistance to a thief is carried off for theft ; also decisions about theft by a child, *by* a childless woman, *and by* her who is pregnant ; likewise their maintenance *and* earnings (*vindisnō*) in retributive work, and the work of a pregnant thief.

9. About the accumulated property *of* the innumerable which they would keep away from thieves, *both* the thief by means of *his* hands, and him who is a thief not by means of *his* hands. 10. About the testimony *of* a thief, that is, for what *it* is admissible when<sup>3</sup> he advances as a thief; how at the *time* when *it is necessary* to seize *and* bind *him*, and how at the *time* when it is necessary to flatter (*nivâkhtanō*) and deceive *him* until *one* attains to absolute power (*kâm-kârih*) thereby. 11. About rewards (*navisnō*) with thieves. 12. About the difference of theft from plunder.

13. About property which *any one*, carrying *it* off,

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XIX, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pâz. hidhîh, probably for a Pahl. adjective *hadak* from Av. *hadha*, and referring to accomplices before and after the fact (see Chap. XVIII, 5).

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that *mûn* stands for *amat*, their Irâanian equivalents being nearly alike, and the latter word being used in the succeeding clauses.

*has to bring back to its* owners; such as that which the frontier people *may take away* from foreigners, that which the judge *may take away* from thieves, and the share which he may take away from *any one* not interfering<sup>1</sup> with thieves. 14. And about protectors *and* defenders of a thief, and also many other legal decisions as regards theft.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.*

1. The second section is miscellaneous (*ham-dâdakô*): about the authority for the enquiry (*khvâst-radakîh*) of a father into the sin of a grown-up son, when unaware of the sin of his son at the time it is committed; that *of* a son into that of a father, *and of* others grown-up, as to one another, when they are not abettors of the sin; and that of a husband into the sin of a wife, when not *and* when<sup>2</sup> co-operating and unrestraining. 2. About arrival *at* the period for the teaching of children by a guardian *or* father, and the mode of his teaching; the period at which the sin of a child *has* reached a beginning, the extent of the sin of childhood, the retribution in childhood, and that also at maturity; the sin due to not teaching a child who is to be taught, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

3. About the freedom from slaughter which is to

<sup>1</sup> Av. *asterethwân*. The share being a bribe for purchasing non-interference. In each case the property is to be restored to its original owner who had been robbed by the foreigners or thieves.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the repetition of the word *amat*, ‘*and when*’ is a blunder of the copyist.

keep away the destruction *of* the world; and what is the mode of distributing the property of a man of the valiant after *his* slaughter. 4. About the sin of *having* given implements of slaughter to a woman, a child, *or* a foreigner. 5. About a woman who, as regards two men worthy of death, demands the head of the one, *and* is seeking a son in the *other* one.

6. About a warrior, without provisions (*atûsakô*), who, on the march, *has* come upon pasture, corn, and sheep whose shepherd<sup>1</sup> is a stranger to him, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 7. About considering property inexpedient, and the decision thereon.

8. About the amount of delay of a judge on *becoming* aware that the plaintiff is falsely petitioning *and* the defendant is falsely confessing. 9. About the amount of delay of the judge, and in the court of justice (*dâd gâs*); and whatever is on the same

<sup>1</sup> The Pahlavi word is written 𐭩-𐭩 twenty-four times, and 𐭩-𐭩 once, in this Book, but its reading is not quite certain. It means 'shepherd' throughout Chaps. XXIII, XXXIX, and in XXXI, 17, 31, XL, 3; but is used for 'herdsman' in XXXIX, 3, and for 'follower' in XXXI, 2. This last meaning is strongly in favour of the reading *pasfg*, for *pasîk*, 'following,' an adjectival form derived from *pas*, 'after,' which, when used as a noun, would imply 'one who follows,' as drovers and shepherds are accustomed to do, with a few local exceptions. The Pahlavi spelling of the word is uniformly inconsistent with the reading *pâs*, 'guard, protector;' and it seems hazardous to trace it to a possible Avesta adjective *pasvya*, from *pasu*, 'a sheep,' because the latter word becomes *pâh* in Pahlavi. The word also occurs in Pahl. Vend. XV, 116; it is a transcript of Av. *fshenghî* and *fshenghyô* in Yas. XXXI, 10 b, XLIX, 9 a, and of *fshê* in Vend. XIII, 10, 11; so that it may perhaps be read *fsheg*, or *fshê*, as a mere transcript from the Avesta.

subject. 10. About a decision regarding a judge who explained a doubtful opinion as a certainty, *and that which* is certain as a doubtful decision, *and* would make an undecided *matter* decided. 11. About the opinion as to certainty *and* that as to doubtfulness, making a decision, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

12. About the business of commissioned judges, from him who is lowest *to* him who is highest, one above the *other* one. 13. Decisions about adjudication; that which is legal *when* two *judges* are together, that which is legal with *either one* judge *or* two judges together, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 14. About the statements of a decision regarding interpretations (pâdö-khânâñö)<sup>1</sup>, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 15. About the proportion of the time of judges for decision, that for summoning witnesses to the judges, *and* that for the proceedings (sakisnö). 16. About the judge who is doubly satisfied<sup>2</sup>, *and* him who is not doubly satisfied; *also* the time from a judge's not *being* doubly satisfied till his *being* doubly satisfied. 17. About a judge of four customs, and *his* decision thereon; one who knows the decree *and* would act to effect *it*, and one who knows *it* and would not act. 18. About the supremacy of a judge as to adjudication so far as *there* is a false decision therein; how it is when *he* is at a distance (pavan hâsar), and how it is when he is on the spot; he who is at a

<sup>1</sup> Pahl. pâdö-khân = Pers. pâf'khân.

<sup>2</sup> Pâz. vayôzust, Av. vayôzustô=dvayôzustô. Farh. Oîm, p. 43, ll. 10-12, has 'the Vayôzustô, who is a judge, explains this, so that the petitioner who is doubtful is a hearer of certainty; it is, as *one* says, deliberately weighed.'

distance becomes a superior therein, when he comes back to the *place of justice* before the end of a Hâsar<sup>1</sup>. 19. About other false teaching of a judge which is manifest therefrom, *and* the retribution for the false teaching ; the false summoning, false investigation, and false evidence of the complainant (mûst-hômônd) *having* been his own, and a separate atonement unto the afflicted *one has* to atone for the affair ; *it having* been mitigated by no good work. 20. About the trouble of adjudication to the priestly authorities (radân). 21. About the proficiency of a woman or child who is acquainted with the law<sup>2</sup>, for a judgeship, *being* above that of a full-grown man unacquainted with the law.

22. About assisting the want of one's own disciple for a master for the recited law, *and* the sin due to not assisting, such as that when, wanting assistance, *it is allowable* for the afflicted *one* to beg an assistant from foreigners, and according to his petition is the bringing of a foreigner for assistance ; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the supremacy of Rashnû<sup>3</sup> the righteous.

24. About several persons who are *engaged* in legal proceedings about the keeping *and* non-division of property not their own, and the decision as regards for whom *one* has in keeping that property which is not his own. 25. About actions which are not inconsistent and those which are inconsistent. 26. About the decision of a judge of congregational actions.

27. About the offence which accusers would commit, as regards the law, by means of the law, *it being*

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XX, 68.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XX, 153.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XX, 74.

not allowable to commit *it* with their own hands; also *as regards* any one's property, about which *there* is a dispute, even though with a certainty as to its ownership.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.*

1. One section of the next twelve is the Pasûs-hâûrvastân ('shepherd's-dog code'), about the shepherd who is selecting a shepherd's dog for the sheep, and the shepherd with various shepherd's dogs; about the shepherd's comprehension of their service-ability, one with the other, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 2. The extent of authorised efficiency (*salît-gârikîh*) accomplished by the shepherd's-dog nature of a shepherd's dog, after his *being* appointed by the shepherd.

3. About the shepherd's preparing the means of bedding<sup>1</sup> for the shepherd's dog, giving the amount of the price of the daily *food* of a shepherd's dog, provisions for the dog in the winter, and the preparation of a fire beforehand which it is necessary to make in the sheepfold (*pâh-hastö*). 4. About the mode of preparing the appointed *fireplace* of the sheepfold, the position of the shepherd's dog and the dog's fire, the means of lodging *and* provisioning the shepherd's dog in the sheepfold, the sin owing to the occasions when *one* proceeds to provide *another* mode, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

5. About the diligence of the shepherd's dog, and about *his* being guardian of the sheep asleep at night

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<sup>1</sup> Or 'covering,' *gâmakö*.

in flocks<sup>1</sup> dreading distress; the dog, *their* protection, is not provided with bedding, *nor* with pillow, and they are happy; every night *he has* to come out, through the whole flock, three times, besides when one of the guards (*padânō*), who is apprehensive, counts *them*, *who*, every day *at* dawn, *has* to walk out among the sheep, with good words, to inspect *them*, to apply remedies properly *to* the sheep that are sick, wounded, bruised, *or* defective, *and* to be *their* guardian; *also* the sin owing to worrying *them*, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. About that which is to be done by him as regards the breeding of the sheep, *and* likewise for the sake of the young ones; *and* the sin when *he does not do it*, or shall act otherwise. 7. About his fully understanding where *and* which is the sheep for *each* young one. 8. About his habit and means of keeping away the thief *and* the wolf from the sheep, *and* the preservation of the sheep thereby when an awful cloud and wind and rain arise, *or* when the position of those distressed ones, at the fords of rivers, comes opposite a locality (*nisisno*) of bad footing; when *it is* not possible for him *to save* all, *he has* to save the greater in value, *or* the more in number.

9. About his *having* guarded a sheep from the pasture *of* others *and* the retribution for the sin of not *having* guarded as to the eating *and* damaging of the corn and pasture of others by the sheep. 10. About the extent of preservation by the shepherd's dog's driving the sheep from the corn *and* pasture of others *of* various species, such as that which *one* calls the very stupid (*gôltar*) pig; there is, more-

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<sup>1</sup> Pâz. *pasîvân* for *pasûvân* (pl. of *pasu*).

over, the specified pasture as regards those sheep, *but* the pig, which feeds upon its own predecessors, is also that *which* may commit another sin, for it feeds upon even *its* progeny at birth.

11. About the indication of an assembly place (*garang*) for the sheep, in a warm *or* cool locality, by the shepherd's dog. 12. About the characteristics of sheep from one to four years *of age*. 13. About the village (*vis*) of the shepherd, where the shepherd's dog is known when he arrives; how it is when a sheep *has* to be kept out of the sheepfold *by* the shepherd's dog, *and* how it is when *it has* to be driven by him to the village of the heedful shepherd. 14. About the coming of the shepherd unto a sheep, *and* the path from the village which the shepherd *has* provided for<sup>1</sup> the flock.

15. About a shepherd when he withholds the daily *food* of a shepherd's dog, and the exhaustion of life thereby; after the fourth deprival of food (*atapak-dâdö*)<sup>2</sup> *it* is allowable for the shepherd's dog to kill a sheep for nourishment. 16. About a sheep, *which* comes astray into the flock to be slaughtered, *being* the perquisite of the butcher (*bâhar-i kûstâr*), and that of the shepherd's dog *being* its dog<sup>3</sup> and the appointed number of one sheep. 17. About *their* extent of movement, and their pregnancy and growing old (*bâr va-khasân*). 18. About the sin of the shepherd, as regards the shepherd's dog, through injustice as to work,

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that *valman* stands for *val*.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XVII, 6.

<sup>3</sup> The dog who allowed the sheep to stray being thus punished, by becoming the prey of the dog into whose flock the sheep strayed, who also receives a sheep as his share of the butchering.

reward, *and* chastisement; *and of* the shepherd's dog, as regards the shepherd, through improperly tending a sheep, *or* worrying it by exertion; also his chastisement, and the payment that occurs for the incompetence *and* unworthiness therein; *besides* adjudications between the shepherd *and* shepherd's dog.

19. About the instruction which the shepherd gives to the shepherd's dog, through reminders (pavan ayâdihâ), to control a sheep, when, the shepherd's dog *having* heard some musical notes (srûdö gâsânö), the instruction took place in the form of words; and, when the notes *were* not heard, even by a blow (zatam), the means of that instructor being a blow. 20. About the peculiarity of the shepherd's dog as regards its employment (rôgkâr) at the periods of satisfying menstrual excitement, solemnizing the season-festivals, *and* other important good works.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### *Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.*

1. The first section of the last thirty-five is the Stôristân ('beast-of-burden code'), particulars about the sin, affecting the soul, due to unlawfully striking and wounding as regards beasts of burden and cattle; *and* the retribution and compensation for it to one's own cattle, that in case of a beast of burden *and* that in case of a sheep (anûmâð), during life.
2. That which arises when one smites them with a brand (dakhshak); that when one smites them on the flank, *and* that when it is in front of them; that

when their flanks are so smitten is complete smiting. 3. Of the smiting, too, *of* other members, the smiting in front, though the smiting *be* such as when *one* so smites for smiting on the flank, is not complete smiting. 4. And that which amounts to as much as a complete smiting, when *one* so smites as for smiting on the flank, is such as that when *one* casts off the skin, and that when *one* casts off the flesh, thereby, that when *one* is cutting it, *or* that when wounds (khîmân) or serpent-scourging (mârvanô)<sup>1</sup> are upon it.

5. It is also about making the dog which drives the sheep (pasûs-haûrvô) dumb. 6. About bruising the limbs and plucking the feathers of birds, such as the case when *it is* complete smiting, and such as that when *it is* not complete smiting. 7. And unlawfully destroying as regards fish, such as when it would make their flesh uneatable. 8. An account as to noticeably and worryingly beating cattle, about decrees of whatever kinds as to each separate beating worryingly that is to be considered as noticeable beating, *and* many decrees as to whatever is on the same subject. 9. About the retribution for making clothing of skins and woven wool (tadakô), *and* the sin of any one owing to kindling a fire therewith, *or* roasting flesh which is stolen *or* plundered.

10. About the good work *of* all that is wise activity, and the reward of the happy place<sup>2</sup>; the sin of everything that is ignorant activity, and the

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XVIII, 2, 6; or it may be muharvanô, 'cauterizing.'

<sup>2</sup> Heaven.

bridge *penalty* of the evil place<sup>1</sup>; connected therewith, to make him who is righteous develope in wisdom, and to make him who is wicked diminish in ignorance, is the world.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### *Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.*

1. The second section is the Ar'gistân ('*value code*'), particulars about the value of small consumption of animate, and also that of inanimate, property; with the desirableness of information thereon, each separately. 2. The value of not destroying a righteous man even for a decree and justice, *and* of atonement for injuring the existence<sup>2</sup> of the fire of Varahrân<sup>3</sup>.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### *Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.*

1. The third section is the Aratêstâristân ('*warrior code*'), particulars about the worthiness of destroying a wolf; *and*, among wolves, the greater need of destroying (*zaniṣtarîh*) those with two legs than those with four legs.

2. About selecting the daily *supplies* of warriors, the beasts of *burden*, clothing, and equipment of warriors, and other appurtenances (*avârīgânakîh*) which are to be given to them; *also* selecting a horse *and* accoutrements (*zêñö-afzâr*) for each one.

<sup>1</sup> Falling into hell owing to the narrowness of the *Kinvad* bridge to the other world, occasioned by an excess of sin over good works (see Dd. XXI, 5-7).

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XIX, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The sacred Bahirâm fire.

3. About having a man's horse trained before *one* sends *him* to smite enemies. 4. About the efficacy of the resources *and* care of a warrior in the destruction which enemies occasion ; *also* the army and the slaughter of war. 5. About the sin of the village and abode of the warriors on the occurrence of a battle, and what is the retribution for wounds and damage ; what is that which is disfiguring (*apîrâyak*) therein, and what is that which is worthy of death therein.

6. About the characteristics of the wearing of armour (*zêñâvandih*) and not wearing of armour *by* warriors. 7. About the rank of the general (*sipâh-padö*), *and* other officers (*padâñ*) over the troops, as to daily *supplies*, pay, and dignity; also their subordinates (*azîrag*), and the number of troopers (*gûrd*) *to* each one of the officers. 8. About the anxieties of a trooper for the protection of person and family. 9. About the number of troopers when the king of kings goes to battle. 10. About the proportion of daily provision for two warriors, the meat and milk and bread thereof, which are for the sake of providing guidance *and* causing contests of the warriors in that good eating ; also the reason *of* certifying (*gôvâïk*) its distribution and weighing, the beast *of burden* of the original village (*bûn kôkîh*)<sup>1</sup>, and *its* means of *being* sent unto the troops. 11. About cutting the herbs for the veterinary surgeon (*stôr bezashkô*), the store of accoutrements, *and* other things which are necessary with an army. 12. About the feeding of warriors *on* the day of battle, the meat and whatsoever are their eatables ; even so the food of the horses.

<sup>1</sup> Whence the supplies come.

13. About the wealth which foreigners bring away, and this which is declared thereof, that is, 'I, too, am assisting even the wolf.' 14. About the display of esteem by warriors together, the union of friendship one with the other, obedient unto their commander of the troops, and mindfully resigning themselves to death, *there* being seen a spiritual reward, without doubt, in the future existence.

15. About the choice of a commander over the troops; also as to *his* coming *and* understanding the habits of his troops, each separately, through the capability of skill which is theirs. 16. About estimating the strength *and* resources of the troops, with those of *their* enemies; that is, how the battle is to be engaged in, *or* how the *case* is when it is to be avoided. 17. About the provision of anything requisite<sup>1</sup> which warriors shall leave for safety when *there is* danger in the neighbourhood from a distant stronghold, or danger *to* a neighbouring stronghold from afar. 18. About the *case* where, when it is necessary to engage in battle, the horse of a warrior has not arrived, *and it* is allowable to seize upon several horses from a herd of horses. 19. About the watchful sentinel (*nigâhakô pâspânô*), *and* of what kind is the information from which this is manifest, to the army and commander of the troops, that the enemy is well dead, or fled.

20. About a demonstration whereby they produce terror *and* apprehension in the enemy. 21. About an altercation of the commander of the troops with foreigners before a battle; altercation also through an envoy, and calling them into subjection to the

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<sup>1</sup> Or 'of value;' *khvâstakô* having both meanings.

king of kings and the religion of the sacred beings.

22. About admonition to the troops, and declaring the share and arrangement of special duty of each one in the fight; announcing to the troops the recompense of the active, telling *and* informing the troops *of* the reason of being worthy of death, *of* the worthiness of destroying foreigners, *of* the command of the sacred beings as to their destruction when they shall not accept the Irâanian nationality (Aîrîh), and the equally great reward *and* recompense for their destruction announced by revelation, the legal code (*dâdistânîkîh*) *of* Irân.

23. About not uttering words of irritation on the day of battle, *and* not mentioning, among the troops, any intelligence which gives the troops apprehension, but *only* that which is agreeable and pleasing, through giving heartiness and increasing the strength.

24. About the *sacred* ceremonial on the day of battle *and* evil deeds of war;—a twig of the sacred twigs of that ceremonial, and the Avesta as regards fighting, *being* the first arrow well delivered into the mark shot *at*;—the consecration of the water which is nearest to the place of battle, even by bringing holy-water; and the sequence of the fight, that is, with which arms *and* appliances *it* is first to be fought, *and* successively unto those which *are* the last.

25. About the proportion of those who keep the arms (*zâlî*) for the combatants, and, after a victory over foreigners, are taking away the hostages and captives, out of the foreigners, from the combatants; *also their* return from them.

26. At what degree of distance from them *they have* to carry the arms *and* appliances and the restoratives for the unfatigued

and the fatigued; and, the accoutrements *being* deposited, a warm bath prepared, and relaxation of the body effected, the reward of merit is given. 27. *One has* to search offenders, to bring restoratives for the unfatigued and the fatigued, to deliver the accoutrements back to the arsenal (*gangō*), to allot the share of the hostage brought back to his own people, and also much else on the same subject.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### *Ganabā-sar-nigad Nask.*

1. The fourth section is miscellaneous: about a warm bath *being* in a house of what kind, the position of security of the fireplace, the watchfulness to be upheld there, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 2. About the strength that a horse *has* to exert for the sake of the earth, and that which is to be exerted in that mode for the sake of fire. 3. About food *and* other matters which may be prepared with fire, *and* the security of the fire in like manner. 4. About fire which, even on the road, is *free* from throwing away, bodily refuse<sup>1</sup>, and dead matter<sup>2</sup>, and *from* the injury and harm owing thereto; the various safeguards of fire from *being* given to an infidel (*ag-dēnō*) *or* a child; the distance of the fire from a rivulet<sup>3</sup>; the penalty for throwing *it* away, *or* other sin as regards it; *and* the

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XIX, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Any solid portion of a corpse, or carcase, of a human being, dog, or other animal.

<sup>3</sup> Which might extinguish it and, thereby, render the person who had charge of the fire grievously sinful.

proportion of nourishment and preparation for the fire in summer, *and* also in winter.

5. About picketing (*barā nisāstanō*) a horse, that is, how *it is* justifiable when *it is* in water and dust, how it is *so* when really in very distressing bodily refuse, and how it is *so* when even in bodily refuse *that is* tolerable. 6. About the proportion of nourishment for mankind, fire, and cattle. 7. About receiving a guest, the praise of liberality, and the grandeur of the liberal, the contempt for stinginess, and the want of the wanderer.

8. About the mode of wearing garments in a dwelling of *Mazda-worshippers*, even so far as a bandage of four rags for protection<sup>1</sup>; the care of them each separately, the wages of the makers *and* ornamenters of each one, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 9. About *having* procured a street-keeper (*kūgpānō*) for the *Mazda-worshippers*, the business of the street-keeper thereof, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

10. About preparing in the summer a store for the winter. 11. About reaping a field of corn, the *Avesta*<sup>2</sup> for the first reaping, and *having* consecrated the first sheaf with the dedication (*shnūman*) to *Aūharmazd* the lord. 12. About the union of those of the good religion together, both in removing want and *in* union even with infidels in that which

<sup>1</sup> Reading *vad-i-k vand-i-ī 4 lōtō-ī pānakīh*, and taking *lōtō* as equivalent to Pers. *latah*. We might suppose that the phrase meant 'a belt of the four strings (*rūdō*) of protection,' but the number would not correspond to the three times the sacred thread-girdle passes round the waist, nor would the material of *rūdō*, 'catgut,' be appropriate for the girdle.

<sup>2</sup> The scriptural formula to be recited in its original language.

is not detrimental to the religion, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 13. About duty as regards the produce of plants *and* animals; first, suitable eating; *and* secondly, moderate eating and avoidance of profusion.

14. About possessions which belong to the nobles, *and* those which belong to the multitude; *in* what manner that which belongs to the multitude *has* to come into the possession of the nobles; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 15. About the envyousness (*zigûrih*) of the beast of burden, ox, and sheep, and also *of* people; that is, in how many of the multitudes, each separately, it is produced; and whatever is on the same subject. 16. And also much other adjudication and information on similar intelligence.

17. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

### CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. One section of the *first* thirty of the Hûspâram<sup>1</sup> is the Aêrpâtistân<sup>2</sup> ('priest code'), particulars about *a case* where *one* *has* to provide for a priestly assembly (aêrpâtistân), which is a birth; how the *case* is when *it* is important to go, how it is when *one*

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to the seventeenth word, â, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; and it is the seventeenth Nask in all Rivâyats. This name should probably be Avisp-kharam, meaning 'free from all defect;' but it is called Hûspâram, Aspâram, or Aspârûm in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained sixty-four, or sixty, kardah or subdivisions. The former number agrees with the total of the sections mentioned in Chaps. XXVIII, XXXII, XXXVI.

<sup>2</sup> A considerable portion of this section is still extant, combined with a larger portion of the next section, the Nirangistân, whose name is applied to the whole text.

stays at his own *house*, and how it is when *it* is not allowable to go; also deciding about the *chief* priest (*aérpatō*), and the proportion of priests (*âsrûkō*) who are superior, *of* those who are intermediate, and *of* those who are inferior in the estimation of the wisdom of the righteous. 2. About the priest whom *one* is sending, and the wayfaring garments and appliances which are to be given to him.

3. About the disciple, as reverent towards the *chief* priest; the labour in receiving the *sacred* words and teaching *them* to the disciple; the advice of the *chief* priest to the priests; and the muttered phrases at the time of contamination by *dead matter*. 4. About what priest—on the arrival of a priest back at the district from which *one* sends *him*—is to be appointed, as priest for the district from which *he came*, by the district governor and those of the district, for teaching and instruction in the district.

5. About which are *those* reckoned as the five dispositions<sup>1</sup> of a priest that are the glorification of the priest's statements of the law, *from* the first of *his* statements in succession unto the last, and whatever is on the same subject.

6. About the subjects regarding which a priest of concealed parentage is to be asked, *with* the prelude and sequel of the same subject. 7. About the bridge *penalty*<sup>2</sup> of a priest through sinfulness, *in* a separate fargard<sup>3</sup>. 8. About a priest they may carry away from a district, owing to anxiety for forming a priestly assembly, *who* becomes worried in forming *it*.

<sup>1</sup> See Bd. XIX, 36 n.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XX, 63.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. I, 20.

9. About the superiority of priests in means of knowledge, one as regards another; the extent of superiority through which the greater suitability for authority, of one as regards another<sup>1</sup>, arises; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### *Hūspāram Nask.*

1. One section is the Nirangistān ('ritual code'), particulars about the ritual of the ceremonial of the sacred beings, that which is important *and* goes to the bridge of judgment<sup>2</sup>; the exceeding merititiousness owing to an ample number of Rāspīs<sup>3</sup> in the ceremonial; and, as to the Avesta, the Zōti and Rāspī are both for various phrases, those which are for the speaking of the one are for the hearing of the other. 2. About the sacred cake<sup>4</sup>, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 3. About abstaining from the drinking of wines at the same time as the ceremonial. 4. About the quality (sāmān) of the voice in reciting the Avesta in a ceremonial, and the

<sup>1</sup> Reading sagāktarīh-i aēvakō min tanē pava n patīh, but there are only faint traces of the third, fourth, and fifth words, as the decayed folio of the manuscript has been patched, and the repairer forgot to record the missing words at the time he did his work. His marginal note refers to a defect in the next line of the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> The Kinvad bridge, at which the departed soul is believed to give a full account of its actions during life (see Chap. XIV, 8).

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. VII, 5.

<sup>4</sup> The drōn, or sacred cake, is a small pancake which is consecrated in the ceremonies, and dedicated to some particular spirit by means of a shnūman, or propitiatory dedication (see Sls. III, 32). It is tasted by the priests and by the participators in certain ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 404, 408).

Avesta which is twice recited and thrice *or* four times recited. 5. About the ceremonial, and the conducting of that ceremonial whose Zôti, or Râspî, is a Tanâpûhar sinner<sup>1</sup>. 6. About the Zôti duty of a woman<sup>2</sup> *or* child. 7. About a decision as regards him who is cursed by the Mazda-worshipping religion.

8. About the sin of him who does not solemnize a season-festival<sup>3</sup>, and how the *case* is when it is solemnized by him. 9. About the limits of the five periods<sup>4</sup> of the day and night, and the ceremonies of the same periods. 10. About the kinds of peculiarity of the things for the season-festivals and other good works produced authorisedly.

11. About the quantity of holy-water which is due to one sheep<sup>5</sup>, the inspection and consideration in providing the sheep, the freedom from sickness due to contamination and other defects even in a lawful place, and the exemption from the appliances and attacks of noxious creatures; the ritual for making *it*<sup>6</sup>, and deciding about the maker, producer, and carrier, the taster and the giver to him. 12. The reason of the slaughter, and whatever is on the same subject.

13. About the position and duty of the Zôti and Râspîs in the ceremonial. 14. About the perfect ceremonial, the gift to a righteous man who has

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XX, 65.

<sup>2</sup> See Sls. X, 35.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. VII, 1.

<sup>4</sup> These periods, or watches, are from dawn till noon, noon till 3 P.M., 3 P.M. till dusk, dusk till midnight, and midnight till dawn.

<sup>5</sup> When slaughtered to provide the necessary meat-offerings (see Sls. XI, 4-6).

<sup>6</sup> The holy-water apparently.

become a teacher *and* examiner of the wisdom of the righteous, *and* whatever is on the same subjects.

15. About the *sacred* shirt and *thread-girdle*, that is, from what it is proper to make them, *and* whatever is on the same subjects. 16. About gathering *and* tying the sacred twigs, *and* on the same subject.

17. About the proportion of firewood in various parts of the ceremonial, *and* the mode of bringing it forward; that for the household fire, *and* the priestly fire of Bahirâm (Varahrân).

18. About a ceremonial amid great *opulence*, that which is amid medium *opulence*, that which is amid little opulence, and a decision as regards want of opulence. 19. About always celebrating the ceremonies of the sacred beings for that which has occurred, and not neglecting *them* in any way. 20.

About the cases where mankind observantly, and also unobservantly, celebrate the ceremonies of the sacred beings; that is, which is he who observantly and he who unobservantly *does so*; with advice about observantly celebrating the ceremonies of the sacred beings.

21. About the cleanliness of the body *and* clothing of the celebrator of the ceremony, the assurance of his mind from sin, the ablution of the apparatus of the place of the exalted (vulandâñih), the cleanliness of the place of the ceremonial, the distance therefrom for any degree of manifest pollution and stench, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

22. About the ceremonial of the waters and their creatures, the vigour<sup>1</sup> of healthfulness, the possession of the brilliancy of heaven, the bountifulness of

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<sup>1</sup> Or it may be ‘holy-water.’

the spirit of the waters, and whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the celebration of a ceremonial, which is an ordinance of duties for the sake of a happy state of gladness (*khûp parkânîh*) and happy consequences ; and also many other statements on the same subject. 24. *About* the ceremonial as proper and improper, beneficial and not beneficial.

25. About the families of Zaratûst, Hvôv<sup>1</sup>, and Vistâsp, as regards the account (*aûshmûrisnö*) and ceremonial of the religion and their nature.

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### CHAPTER XXX.

#### *Hûspâram Nask.*

1. One section is the Gôharîkistân ('quality code'), particulars about natural superiority; not the modified (*gastakö*), but the lawful, approved<sup>2</sup>, and specific state of superiority; not acquired by the slender power<sup>3</sup> of the world, but by seeking virtuous living through causing the prosperity of every person ; also the authorisation of superiority, and the proportion of advantage therein. 2. About a superiority unimpoverished (*anyûrûzd*), with one unimpoverished with a nature unspent (*an-aûrûzd*), with one unspent with an impoverished (*nyûrûzd*), and one impoverished with an impoverished ; also the extent of impoverishment and non-impoverishment, that is, with whom it is not customarily of much

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<sup>1</sup> An ancestor of several persons mentioned in the Avesta, including the two brothers, Gâmâsp the prime minister of king Vistâsp, and Frashôstar the father-in-law of Zaratûst.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming that *pasandak* stands for *pasandak*; otherwise, we may read *pishonik*, 'provided.'

<sup>3</sup> Reading *tang-karîh*, but it may be *tund-karîh*, 'the severe labour.'

consequence (*pavan frēh-ar'gō*), with whom *it is so* customarily, *and* with whom, owing to an exception, *it is not* customarily of much consequence on account of *its* much consequence for an uninformed *person*, that is, with whom *it is as it were* proper with a servant of sin. 3. And superiority is a furtherance of living beings, and pervades the natural extent thereof.

4. About him who would sell property not his own, *and* him who would buy *it*. 5. About selling a sheep frequenting the house, *and one* not frequenting the house. 6. About various precautions *as to* samples of various things. 7. About selling beasts of *burden*, cattle, slaves, servants, *and* other property, of the nature of whose species *one* is aware through speaking about the nature of different species; *and* the retribution for the sin of whatever is on the same subject. 8. That which is an obvious agreement for selling with defects<sup>1</sup>, when it is declared of beasts of *burden*; and that which is ever defective on selling.

9. About a house in which a person, *or* dog, *has* passed away through contagious sickness, *and* the clothing which the man wore owing to that sickness; that is, how it is when spoiled for selling *for three years*, how it is when *it is so for two years*, *and* how it is when *it is so for one year*. 10. About a house in which a person, or dog, *has* reposed in a contagious sickness, *and* not passed away after *his* descent therefrom; *and* the clothing which the man wore in that sickness; that is, how it is when spoiled for selling *for two years*, how it is when *it is so for one year*, *and* how it is when *it is so for thirty nights*; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, without a warranty.

11. About forming a family (*gôharîk kardanô*) with foreigners, that is, how it is when allowable.  
 12. About a sheep of *good* breed for the three nights<sup>1</sup>, *and its* slaughter after the three nights; likewise many other decisions as regards superiority and sheep of a *good* breed.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

*Hûspâram Nask.*

1. A miscellaneous section is about taking anything which is not one's own at the *time* when he does not think that they see him and they do see him, at the *time* when he thinks that they see him and they do not see him, *and* at the *time* when he thinks that they see him and they do see him. 2. About giving righteous instruction, that is, what happens, *and* how, at the *time* when the follower<sup>2</sup> asks again. 3. About the sin of imprisoning the needy, exalting falsehood, and approving deceit.

4. About the action and command which diminish, or alter, a liberal gift to any one. 5. About the limit of the open-handedness of a wife who should be privileged, *and* who is reverent towards her husband, out of anything *that* has not reached the husband; how it is when the husband is foolish, how it is when *it is* legally, how *when* derived from *what is* legally property, *and* how *about* that which is unspent savings (*anyûrûzd kabun*); also the limit of the reverence of a wife for a husband, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

<sup>1</sup> The three nights after a death; the sheep is to be slaughtered on the fourth day, including the day of death (see Sls. XVII, 2-5).

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XXII, 6 n.

6. About causing the conveyance of a maiden from the house of *her* fathers, or guardians, to the village of *her* husband, to hold the position of house-mistress of the husband; of the wife when she becomes reverent and propitiatory towards him, and admonishing *her* when she speaks thus: 'I am thy wife, but I will not perform a wife's duties for thee;' also the quarrelling of a husband with *his* wife, and carrying it on to the bridge of judgment.

7. About the blood on a woman who wants washing, and the bridge *penalty* upon him who has sexual intercourse with a woman who wants washing, with her who is a foreigner, or any other of those not authorisedly for intercourse; the confusion of germs by the woman who grants intercourse to foreigners, and other sin which they may commit about like matters. 8. About a wife claimed from foreigners; that is, how it is when allowable.

9. About the preparation of a wife for the control of a son, the period for it and for suckling, and the wish for a son which is present with a husband. 10. About the sin of a man owing to rejecting the controlling of *his* son by a sister or grown-up daughter.

11. About three things through which mankind become sinful and injuring their own property, and the possession of them is not to be taken away. 12. About those who may not inflict lawful chastisement with oppressive demeanour.

13. About that which a man is to be made to provide in feasting and gifts, for *his* store of good works, on his wife bringing forth. 14. How it is when he is a man of wisdom, and how it is when *he* is a disciple; how it is when it is a male birth, and how it is when it is a female. 15. The advantage

and benefit therefrom; the religious announcement of a name for the *new-born*, should it be a male, or should it be a female; the good work owing to the decision of a religious appointment of a name for the progeny, [and the sin]<sup>1</sup> owing to giving again to it a name of the idolators (*dêvîyastân*).

16. About the ritual and usage in admitting the male to a sheep, owing to which the male is a gratifier of the impregnated female nature, and a protection of the female nature; and the want of training and freedom from defect of the progeny; a proper condition of the flock, too, arises likewise through worshipping the sacred beings and providing the sacred feast; also about the shepherd's dog and the blessing for him. 17. About the regard of the shepherd for the breeding of the sheep. 18. About the work of the ceremonial and of providing the sacred feast, and the advantage for the sheep from the same cause. 19. About the Mazda-worshipping district-breeding of the dogs in a district, through providing careful nurture for the dogs, which is a good work owing to the same cause.

20. About the object of payment for teaching the Zôti duty, for the guardianship of the fire, for the publication and watching of worship, and for other labour, and whatever is on the same subject.

21. About the lawful guardianship of a child, the child who is lamp-light and the father who is the fire, and whatever is on the same subject. 22. About sickness owing to the look of an evil eye, or the vicinity of a menstrual woman, because those

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<sup>1</sup> Here, again, the repairer of the manuscript has forgotten to note the words in brackets which he had cut out of the folio before patching it.

with an evil eye, *or* menstrual, are thereby harmful. 23. About what is the kind of watching for the admitters of fear; the fearful and whatever is on the same subject. 24. And that in case of descending from a house on the outside.

25. About lawful arrangements for supplies, in union and assistance one towards the other; about payment for the labour in the lawful arrangement; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 26. About the produce of property for the multitude, *and* that also for one's own association; that is, how it is when taking *it* authorisedly, and how it is when not *doing so*; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

27. The special generosity of judges in conveying property back to *its* owners; the advantage from just judges, *and* the harm from unjust sentencing and false decisions. 28. So, also, the advantage from truly demanding, truly answering, *and* assisting the just; the enmity and harm from falsely demanding, falsely investigating, and assisting a false demander and false investigation; *but* not the enmity and secret harm of a complaint of the wretched. 29. Advice to judges about just decision and abstinence from false decision; and, secondly, the reward of their just decision, *and* the awful bridge *judgment* of false decision; the accountability in the spiritual *existence* in the case of judges, the praise of truth and contempt of falsity, the gratification of the sacred beings *and* vexation of the demons from just judgment and turning away from false decision, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

30. About what place the appointment by Aûharmazd in the original creation brought the corn to<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> According to Bd. X, 1, XIV, 1, XXVII, 2, fifty-five species of

which arrived for use in the nourishment *and* assistance of mankind and animals ; the sowing of corn from the bodies of Mashya *and* Mashyôî<sup>1</sup> ; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 31. About the labour in sowing *and* cultivating corn, *and* whatever is in the business of agriculturists ; perseverance in agriculture, and the limit of its allotment, owing to suitable participation and inevitable participation *in* agriculture ; whatever is about the shepherd *and* whatever is about the agriculturist, and the adjudication between them. 32. About the corn which is sown, that which is reaped, that which is for an increase (pavan nad-aê), and that which is *for* other things.

33. About the excitement of any one, owing to his blood. 34. About those kinds of ownership of land *and* other things that are best. 35. About him who sees *some one* conducting water for cultivation, when *the person* unauthorisedly sows the land of the *observer who* does not dispute about it with fearlessness and effectual resistance. 36. About the selling of supplies granted, which may be done in hunger, nakedness, and fear ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

37. About the supremacy *of* sin, both that which arises on the spot, and that at a distance (pavan hâsar) ; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 38. About the atonableness of every sin, and the bridge *judgment* for destroying a righteous *man*, *for* witchcraft, and *for* carrying evil (agîh) to fire and water. 39. About atonement for the sin of Yât, Bâzâî,

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grain sprang up originally where the primeval ox passed away ; a statement which does not agree with that hinted at in this section.

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XIII, i.

Khôr, Aredûs, Avôrist, Âgêrept<sup>1</sup>, and giving no food, through giving of scars (*pisang-das*)<sup>2</sup>, labour, and punishment; the kinds of horse-whip and scourge, and how the penitential effect of both arises.

40. When a sinner dies outright on account of the penalty of giving of scars, or the performance of the labour, or the exertion *of* effecting the penance of punishment, *and* when a man has died penitent, *but* incapable of a desire<sup>3</sup> for the retribution of sin, *and* has not atoned in the worldly *existence*, what the nature *of* his soul's helplessness is, owing to sin.

41. About those for whom there is no retribution for sin.

<sup>1</sup> These six names are applied to the various grades of assault and wounding, for which a special scale of punishment is appointed (see Sls. I, 1, 2, XI, 1, 2, XVI, 1, 5). Here the list begins at the most heinous end of the scale, and the last three names, which refer to the lightest offences, have been already explained in Chaps. XIX, 1 n, XX, 64 n. The first three names are explained in Farn. Oim, pp. 36, l. 7-37, l. 2, as follows:—‘For whatever reaches the source of life the name is Khôr; one explains Bâzât as “smiting,” and Yât as “going to,” though it be possible for the soul of man to be notwithstanding; and a counterstroke is the penalty for a Yât when it has been so much away from the abode of life.’ These six gradations of crime, therefore, range from the infliction of the nearest possible approximation to a fatal wound, down to the merely constructive assault of seizing a weapon. All authorities agree in estimating the relative heinousness of the first four crimes by the following numbers: 180, 90, 60, and 30; but regarding the amounts for the two lighter offences there is much difference of statement. In the old law of the Vendîdâd there are seven gradations of such crime, the lowest four corresponding in name with the lowest four here, and all punishable by lashes, with a horse-whip, or scourge, varying from five to two hundred in number, according to the heinousness of the offence and the number of times it has been committed.

<sup>2</sup> By scourging, as prescribed in the Vendîdâd.

<sup>3</sup> Owing to sickness, or any other disabling cause.

42. About what is the kind *of* contest of a poor man, plundered of his property; first, as regards the oppressor who *was* the plunderer, and, afterwards, *having* petitioned for criminal proceedings, through the judges, as regards his oppressor, until their repayment of the property. 43. About *being* delivered into distress *and* disaster<sup>1</sup>, and the decision thereon. 44. About the oppressiveness *of* the much pollution of greediness (*āzō*) which is owing to all its fiendishness, *and* the arrangement of the creator about it for restraining the same fiend<sup>2</sup> from destroying the whole worldly creation. 45. About the great judiciousness of a man in want of power *being* good, for preserving his own life and making *it* nurturable.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

*Hūspāram Nask.*

1. One section of the *next* twenty contains particulars about the rite of an ordeal accomplished, also the modes of one's preservation *or* incrimination therein, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

*Hūspāram Nask.*

1. One section is about the mode and object *of* confinement as regards a beast *of burden*, sheep, and dog that are mad (*dēvānakō*), and the operation of the affliction (*vakhśisnō*); also to what extent is their restoration; *and* when not restored, *but* come for slaughter, the care of them even in confinement,

<sup>1</sup> Pâz. vōighn.<sup>2</sup> The fiend of greediness, *Āzō*.

*and whatever is on the same subject.* 2. About the harm (*vinâs*) which the beast of *burden*, sheep, *and* dog shall commit. 3. About the sin which killed *one who is no offender*<sup>1</sup>. 4. About the care *and* remedy for a sick dog, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

### CHAPTER XXXIV.

#### *Hûspâram Nask.*

1. One section is miscellaneous: about the object of amassing property lawfully produced, *or* derived from (*frôdô min*) *what is* legally property; the production authorisedly of *what is* derived from *that which is* legally property, *and* the production unauthorisedly of *that which is* legally property thereby become one, at first, as regards the very virtuous *or* vicious legal proceedings therein.

2. About the lawful time for giving up a maiden to *her* husband, the completion of *her* possessions, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 3. About the impoverishment owing to the completion of the possessions given, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 4. About a father who *has* sons, and *for which of them* a wife is to be earlier sought. 5. *Also* about which of *his* daughters is to be given away to a husband, and whatever is on the same subject.

6. About the progressive meritoriousness of a righteous gift for a woman, *and* the grievous sinfulness owing to *its being* dissipated. 7. About wealth through a righteous gift, the announcement of *its* manifest acceptance, *and* the acknowledgment of *its* acceptance in words, as a completed act that is so far exhausted.

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<sup>1</sup> Whether the sick animal, or a man attacked by it, is uncertain.

8. About a foreigner when an Irâanian asks *him* for a reward for assistance in battle with his fellow-tribesmen, *and* the foreigner does not become generous, though the recompense is for the generosity of the Irânians.

9. About the offering up (madam dahisnō) of water; that which is an appointed indicator (numû-dâr), and that which is no indicator; that which is an indicator of complete presentation, *and* that of partial presentation; that water which is continually producing the offering up (ûzdahînâk), in like manner, of something of the things of a righteous gift, through the moistened peculiarity and distinction<sup>1</sup> of an offering-producing gift of a male from *that of* a female; and that which is an indicator both male and female, and a voice producing offerings, is animate, *or* inanimate, *or derived* from the inanimate; that which is an indicator is a germ (tôkhmakō-1), that which is in a germ is of one species, that which is in a species is of one form, *and* the proportion that is appointed is completed, *though* the purpose for which *it* is appointed *has* not arisen; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

10. About the five best and five worst actions, the seven<sup>2</sup> heinous sins, *and* the three sins that are very ill-ated for. 11. About the sin of staining with bodily refuse, injuring the existence<sup>3</sup>; *and* of a

<sup>1</sup> The Pahl. text is pavan mamañih va-kadâmîh-i namîdō. Possibly namîdō, 'moistened,' may stand for numûdō, 'indicated;' but the whole sentence is more or less obscure.

<sup>2</sup> Written 4+2 (= six) in the MS., but this is a most unusual way of writing 'six'; it is more probable that we ought to read 4+3, the usual mode of writing 'seven.' 'Seven evil-doers of sin of a heinous kind' are detailed in Dd. LXXII, 2-9.

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. bâîôdôk-zêdô, see Chap. XIX, 1 n.

death-producing formation *as to* clothing. 12. About the sin owing to idleness when, moreover, that which they might do is good. 13. About a decision as to the justifiableness of clothing, arms, equipments, and *other* things *being* given to foreigners, besides promoting their service and business, and *giving them* any assistance whatever, or listening to that which relates to assistance; likewise listening to drunkards. 14. About unlawfully destroying and cutting plants, *with* a decision about it.

15. About the sin of digging a grave<sup>1</sup> for burying a corpse, *whether* of the idolators (dēvīyastān) or non-idolators, and *of supplying* clothing for the corpse of a dead *one* of the idolators. 16. About him who threw bodily refuse<sup>2</sup> *on* to fire or water, or *any place or garment on* which *it* is not authorisedly *cast*, to make Mazda-worshippers polluted; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

17. An account of water as regards the description and extent of moisture of the land. 18. About the sin owing to rendering anything useless through water or fire. 19. About carrying off two-thirds of the misery from the world, by eradicating *it* from the creatures through all the illumination of fires; *and* carrying off all adversity from the period of the creatures, through the freedom from malice of mankind, one as regards the other, *and* through *their* perfect sympathy together.

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<sup>1</sup> Assuming that gôbar *khekîrûntanô* stands for gôbar (Pers. gôr) *khefrûntanô*.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XIX, 3.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

*Hūspāram Nask.*

1. One section contains particulars about the science (*dānīsnō*) of seeking a son, advice about it from revelation (*dēnō*), the advantage of offspring for the admonitory explanation of revelation within one's self, and the harm owing to neglecting the advice of the same.

2. About what happens in the begetting of a son; the first sexual excitement it should produce for the female, the second, third, fourth, and fifth; the arising of a son in the world, and also the milk, owing to her impregnation. 3. And, when it is so that it amounts to a son, which of the two, male or female is sooner emitting the germs at the time of occurrence; and how and how long both have remained, at the time, in semination, how long in connection, and how long in bleeding. 4. When and wherefrom various expectations are produced to contend about, and when and by what signs the male sex, or female sex, of the offspring has become manifest.

5. When the localization<sup>1</sup> regarding it is arranged, and, as to the members, which is the first member therein, and their being produced, each consecutively, till the bodily form is complete; which, and in what position, is the localization of the members after the complete production of the form of the body, and the purpose as regards the position and localization of the members after the complete production of the

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that *gēsī-hastanō* stands for *gāsī-hastanō* in all three occurrences of the word. This is rather doubtful, because the noun *gāsī*, 'position,' occurs twice in close connection with the uncertain word, and is correctly spelt.

form of the body. 6. The effect upon the offspring which is *furnished* with subjection to the male, so far as the complete effecting of it is within the limit for its authorisation<sup>1</sup>; the time (*vidanâânag*<sup>2</sup>) of the offspring with the female, the period of its turning downwards for birth, *and* the occurrence of birth *at* the same time.

7. About the growth of life, too, with the bodily organs (*tanûgân*); *and* which is the first bone become possessed of marrow, *apart* from the other bones, as it is reported. 8. About the admissibility of the elaboration *of* the male sex, *or* female sex, within it, *by* the guardian spirit of the righteous, at the fifth month; and the ceremony for the guardian spirit of the righteous for the sake of the arrival of a male child.

9. About the act of childbirth by a pregnant woman before *recourse to* midwifery (*dâigâñih*), except that relating to the navel string of the child; also its first and second food, and when the midwifery is *that* of her mother; what is the kind of milk, *and* the care of the child at the time, *its* bandaging, sleeping, nourishment, and protection; *and* the sin owing to acting unlawfully in such matters. 10. About how many months is the bearing of the offspring in the womb *of* the camel, horse, ass,

<sup>1</sup> The Pahl. text is as follows:—‘Kâr-î madam zâkô-î levatman dêñ kusn spar, vad spôr kârh zyas dêñ sâmân padas radakîh.’

<sup>2</sup> This unusual hybrid word is evidently intended as a Zvâris equivalent of the Irânian *zamânah*, and is composed of *vidanâ* (= Ch. 視, which is the usual Zvâris for *zamân*) + *ânag* (= *ânah*, the final syllables of *zamânah*). The central syllable of *zamânah* is, therefore, twice represented in the Zvâris *vidanâânag*. The hybrid occurs again, in Bk. IX, Chap. XVII, 3, in a phrase where it can only mean ‘time, period.’ If it were not for this after-occurrence, the word here might be read *va-dô-ahûg*, ‘and the dual existence,’ with some degree of probability.

cow, and woman ; and whatever is on the same subject. 11. About the spiritual perception of a new-born child, *and its* coming into the boundaries of worldly comprehension on the same subjects.

12. About the habits through which multitudes of mankind *attain* to the acme of beautiful form : that of desire for women, that of swiftness which is owing to the strength of the leg, and that of powerfulness which is owing to the vigour of the body, that of desire for wealth, that of speaking in an assembly, and that of speaking at a distance, that through which *any one* uncontrolled comes to a downfall, that through which *there is* more knowledge of obedience, *and* that through which a counteraction of the affliction of the race arises.

13. About the vicious desire of the performer *and* permitter of unnatural intercourse ; also their violent lustfulness, heinous practice, and corrupt, polluted bodies, blighted in destiny; great through their destruction of life in the things which they see, and every greatness inevitably provides *them* a merited death ; as great in sinfulness as *Az-i Dahâk*<sup>1</sup> in oppression, as the serpent Srôbar<sup>2</sup> in witchcraft, as Tûr-i Brâdrô-rêsh<sup>3</sup>, the Karap<sup>4</sup>, in destroying the

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XIII, 8 n, and compare the account of the seven special evil-doers in Dd. LXXII, 3-9.

<sup>2</sup> The Av. azi srvara of Yas. IX, 11 (W.), Yt. XIX, 40 ; a terrible serpent slain by Keresâspa the Sâman, as mentioned again in Bk. IX, Chap. XV, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Also written Brâdrôk-rêsh ; he was one of the Tûrânian priesthood who persecuted Zarâtûst in his youth, and probably the same as Pers. Bartarûsh (the Brâdar-vakhsh of Sd. IX, 5) who is said to have killed Zarâtûst in the end. But, as he was one of five brothers, three of whose names were much alike (see Byt. II, 3 n), his identification is rather uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> Av. karapan. In Dk. Bk. VII the Karaps are often men-

righteous, *and as* a deceiving apostate in falsehood. 14. About the grievous sinfulness of a woman, just delivered and giving milk, whose progeny is the offspring from intercourse with divers males, and whatever is on the same subject.

15. About the increasing vigour *of* the female from the mounting of the male, and the diminished vigour of the male from mounting *on* to the female.

### CHAPTER XXXVI.

#### *Hūspāram Nask.*

1. Six<sup>1</sup> Fargards of one section of the *last* fourteen contain particulars about the enumeration of species of ownership, their precedence one over the other, *and* their good report in conducting legal proceedings. 2. About property that is brought up to the judges, which, owing to an accuser, becomes *a source of litigation* for a judge. 3. About a decree as to restoring possession, *or* as to keeping possession, of whatever is among such matters. 4. About property

tioned as enemies of Zaratûst, both before and after his birth. Some are named, such as Dûrâsrôb, Brâdrôk-rêsh, Vaêdvôist, and Gêshmak. The Karap of the district where the mother of Zaratûst was born banishes her for witchcraft, and must, therefore, have been the official head of the district. Dûrâsrôb, the Karap, travels sometimes with a disciple (*hâvist*), so his title was probably a priestly one. The Karap is also often mentioned with the Kâf, or Kîk (Av. kavan or kavi), the title of an equally obnoxious class; both Kîks and Karaps being termed 'demon-worshippers,' or idolators; and the Pahlavi translators of the Avesta speak of them, metaphorically, as 'blind and deaf' to the sacred beings.

<sup>1</sup> These are called 'five Fargards' in Dd. LXI, 3 which appears to refer to §§ 7, 13. Or it may be 'seven,' if we consider the 'seven' of the next chapter as completing the last fourteen sections of this Nask.

which is, *or* is brought, out of the possession of a defendant, *and* property which is extorted from a man by worrying, or by a noticeable crime upon him; *with* a statement about it.

5. About the earnings (*vindisnō*) of fellow-combatants *and* fellow-subordinates, *with* a statement about them. 6. About the coming of land, property, *or* anything, held by foreigners, into the princely possession of one from Irân.

7. About the guardianship of a family (*dûdakō*); likewise the varieties of it, *and* the fitness of a man for it. 8. About one's own family, and whatever is on the same subject. 9. About the income (*vindisnō*) of wife *and* child.

10. About the trouble *of* the business *of* obtaining (*vindisnō*) a wife, and also her marriage, owing to the urgency of the husband, after the trouble. 11. About *her* guardian and paramour, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 12. About the proportion who *have* to keep a wife to seek *for* offspring, *and* the proportion who *have* to satisfy menstrual excitement.

13. About adoption; likewise the varieties of it, *and* fitness for it; the violation of adoption, the sin of the son who is accepted, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 14. About the partnership of brothers *that has* existed, is formed, *or* is designed; *its* abandonment (*a-bûkhtikîh*), the surplus property, the wealth that becomes quite sacrificed (*zadakō*), *and* whatever is on the same subject. 15. About property that comes to next of kin through relationship, and that through adoption. 16. About the residue that lapses into ways of righteousness.

17. About where *and* in whom, after the father, is

the prerogative as to a daughter *being* given away to a husband.

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### CHAPTER XXXVII.

#### *Huspāram Nask.*

1. One section of the seven<sup>1</sup> at the end contains particulars about the daily *food* of a grown-up man, a pregnant woman, her who is childless, *and* a child, as provided by law; *also* that of a shepherd's dog, a village dog, and a blood-hound; and the characteristics of these three kinds of dog.

2. About the sign of a person's conversion to the religion. 3. About association of several kinds, and one of them is that of the keepers (*padān*) with the flocks (*ramān*), and the flocks in connection with the keepers; and of what kind is the meritoriousness of the keepers of those flocks, as to guardianship of every description; the happy effects of the flock, *and* those of the keeper, of every description; the advantage from this association, and whatever is on the same subject. 4. One is the association of priestly instructor (*radō*) and pupil<sup>2</sup>, *and their* meritoriousness together; the fame of the priestly instructor for priestly instruction, *and* that of the disciple (*hāvistō*) for every kind of *learning derived* from the priestly instructor, and every kind that the priestly instructor *imparts* to the pupil; *and* the happy effects of the priestly instructor, of every kind, in similar matters. 5. One is the association

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether seven sections are meant, or whether we should read 'the seven *Fargards* at the end of one section.' See, however, Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. *radūnē* (Av. *ratiunaya*).

of ceremonial priests (*rad-pîsakâno*), the worthiness of a man for the sacerdotal leadership, supplies for the whole of the ceremonial priests, and whatever is on the same subject. 6. About the highest of all associations<sup>1</sup>, and about the lawful and virtuous existence of this same association, when *there are* two men in *a case* where he who is opulent is always necessary for him who is in innocence, and *has given him* the wealth that he asks for; or where, when the one shall commit sin, wealth is an affliction to the other; or the ownership, as to that which the one obtains, is as much even that of the other; or, on the passing away of *the one*, it is mingled with the wealth of the other; and whatever is on the same subject.

7. About the punishment of the sin of him for whom *one* lies<sup>2</sup> to him by whom provision is made, by thought or by word, and given to him who is worthy. 8. About a father's making a child aware of the sin at the time of the sin. 9. About the sin of taking the course of a false guide and exalting falsehood, and whatever is on the same subject. 10. The sin of extorting supplies for a beast of burden from a lonely labouring person.

11. About important gifts to the worthy, atonement for deprival of food (*atapdâdö-vigârisnîh*)<sup>3</sup>, and disbursements (*aûrûzdân*) of that which is legally, and also of that which is derived from what is legally, property among impoverished (*nyûrûzd*) supplicants. 12. The depriver of food is he who is for early atonement, and *they* who severally exist,

<sup>1</sup> That of disinterested and devoted friendship, as appears from the examples given.

<sup>2</sup> By falsely recommending him as a worthy object of charity.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XVII, 6 n.

through grazing<sup>1</sup> and bringing forth, are they who severally are also in loss of vitality, through deprival of the food of strength and intellect; even a powerful man is prostrated thereby; the food which is suitable as atonement for deprival of food, and that which is not suitable.

13. About that through which the indispensable creation of a debt arises, and whatever is on the same subject. 14. Where it is the healing of the sick, the spiritual debt is unto the archangel Ashavahist<sup>2</sup>, and that which is worldly unto the physician's anteroom (*dâlânakô*).

15. About the worthiness of a good physician for every benefit, and the unworthiness of a bad physician for any benefit. 16. About each one of the plants being produced by Aûharmazd for the subjugation of one disease at least. 17. About the protectiveness and preciousness of the profession of medicine; the advantage and reasoning thought of a physician due to the carrying on of his medical practice; the pleasant food, the handsome clothing, and the swift steed for a physician; and his wealth being as much as that of an average man in a house, village, community, or province. 18. About the diligently

<sup>1</sup> Reading *karisnō*, but part of the first letter has been cut off by the repairer of the MS. The semi-starvation of cattle is being referred to.

<sup>2</sup> The personification of 'perfect righteousness' (Av. *ashavahista*) whose special duty is stated to be the care of fire (see Sls. XV, 5, 12, 13), and whose name, often written *Ardavahist* or *Ardavahist* in Pahlavi, is applied to the second month and third day of the month in the Parsi year (see Chap. XX, 22). He is here connected with the healing of the sick, because of his association with Airyaman, the smiter of diseases (see Vend. XXII, Yt. III, Sîr. I, II, 3).

remedial hand of the physician for the sick, opportunely mindful, yet without chastisement.

19. About the sin of a physician through handling (*sûdakîh*) and *having* spread a disease by walking up to the sick, because that is when *he would have been* innocent through not *having* gone. 20. About a great pestilence (*sêgö*), and that which is trivial.

21. About the fee<sup>1</sup> of a physician for curing a sick person of disease of the whole body, and of each one of the members; even of him who has cured chieftains, both those of the lower grades and him who is the supreme king of kings, and so also various destitute people. 22. About the mode and extent of delivering up fees to a physician, after the declaration of the sick person being well; that is, from whom comes the physician's fee which is announced for the cure, and also that which is not announced; from whom that only which is announced for it, from whom a meal (*pishôn-1*), and from whom nothing whatever of worldly reward comes.

23. About the physician whom one hears<sup>2</sup> and asks for medical treatment. 24. About a test as to the competency of a physician; that is, how it is to be made, how it is when it is possible to test it, and how it is when it is not possible to test it. 25.

<sup>1</sup> In Vend. VII, 36-44 (W.) we have some of the old Avesta laws regarding medical men and their fees. How far the Avesta text of this section of the Hûspâram Nask corresponded with that of the Vendîdâd on the same subject it is impossible to determine, because we have always to recollect that this summary of the contents of the Nasks was compiled from their Pahlavi versions (see Chap. I, 3) which included extensive commentaries, adapting the original Avesta statements to the altered circumstances of Sasanian times.

<sup>2</sup> Or 'satisfies' (*shnâyêdö*).

About the sin of a physician who is not tested, *and* also of him whom it is not possible to test, when he shall undertake the medical treatment of others, *and*, as regards a limb of any one, there is not anything which is another's test of him, *nor* even that which is not another's test of him, *nor* that which is a trial of him.

26. About how long is the duration of *having* sought a physician in Irân whereafter *it* is allowable, through not obtaining *one*, to seek *him* even from foreigners. 27. The sin of *having* sought *one* from foreigners, when *one can* obtain a physician in Irân. 28. About the fee for a foreign physician, and much else on the same subject. 29. The medical treatment of mankind, and also about the medical treatment of beasts of burden and cattle.

30. About the sin owing to intrusting him who is unfit for a duty. 31. About the greater suitability of a priest than of a disciple for duty and position; a trusty *person* is also obtaining the important *rather* than obtaining a desire for the important, and even so far as *being* a potter *rather* than an astrologer, and being careful *rather* than a potter; and the reason of it.

32. About preparing an unauthorised (*a-dastôbar*) dwelling in the locality of other persons, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 33. About boundaries where *there* is a place of residence for people, and whatever is on the same subject. 34. About what description of testimony of *one of* the good religion is *received* as evidence regarding an infidel, *and* of an infidel as regards *one of* the good religion.

35. About the greatness of eminence of the abode of priestly authorities (*radân'ō*), *both* for procedure

and for petitions<sup>1</sup>; the openness of the doors of a priestly authority; the want of eminence of any one through every kind of offence to others, which is owing to his closed doors and evil eminence in every mode; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 36. About the extent of splendour (*lîyânō*) and pomp-diffusing (*vafsh-*a*fgânō*) tokens from the abode of fires, *and* the arrangement as regards him who casts the allotted twigs *and* charcoal (*khâr akhgar*) into them. 37. About conveying prosperity (*padîkhûih*)<sup>2</sup> to the abode of fires appropriately *to* the capability of every one.

38. About the quality (*sâmân*) of water oozing out (*afrîdō*) and that which is flowing in a channel (*nâêv-tâk*). 39. About the characteristics of specified works which are contiguous in a place between two frontiers (*mar'zō*).

40. About a decision as to a sheep *free* from unlawful influence—and so also *as to one under* unlawful influence—which goes to the pasture of others with thievish intention, neglecting its own; and *as to* that which *does so* with thievish intention. 41. About the quantity which *one has* to provide, in the duration of a day and night, on admitting to pasture *and* corn, in the case of an ox without defect (*anâgânō*), or *of* another kind, or a horse, or a sheep, or a goat, or a pig, or an animal of any other kind.

42. About the distance of a residence of mankind from a river flowing in a channel. 43. About the period for letting a sheep graze at pleasure in a pasture, *and that* for restraining *it*; the time for not

<sup>1</sup> These six words should, perhaps, be appended to the next clause of the sentence.

<sup>2</sup> By providing fuel and other necessaries.

cutting trees, *and* that for little slaughter of sheep.  
 44. About an article of clothing which is associated with defence, for fear of enemies, *and* becomes quite a good omen (*sukûn*) *among* mankind, *being* imperceptible *and* appropriate. 45. About a tree with stem uprooted, where *and* how *it is* allowable.

46. About a leader's causing a march of whatever kind, the people *being* in motion through fear, and they drive the sheep which are with the army on account of molestation; *also* making the sheep decide as to the pasture near to the road within reach, the pasturing *of* the first of the species of sheep, *and* letting *them* forth to pasture in succession unto the last, and the reason of it.

47. About a person who is of note<sup>1</sup> on account of wealth, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

48. About this intermixture *of* with-the-stream *and* against-the-stream, with banks and without banks, and waters running *and* down-pouring (*nîyâpân*), on the road; that is, which of the waters, running *or* down-pouring, is to be earlier reverenced *by him* who is returning from the road, and the reason of it.

49. About the subordination of the disciple unto the priest, as to eating, drinking, and plenty, goodness and preciousness; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

50. About that which *occurs* when foreigners come to the frontier of Irân, *and* shall do damage to Irân; *and* the frontier governors *and* fellow-champions *have* to repel the foreigners by fighting, to save the Irânian people and property which *were*

<sup>1</sup> Reading *mûn sakhusag*. Another guess would be *min nîsân-i* (for *nîsân-i*), in which case the translation would be 'a person *free* from indications relating to wealth.'

to be made foreign ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

51. About the advantage of punishing a violent thief by the members of the assembly, that owing to reliance upon the actions *and* convictions of the ancients, that owing to forming many priestly assemblies, that owing to providing a disciple for a priest, that through passing away after *being* high-priest, that through *doing so* without *being* high-priest, *and* that of much information on similar statements prior to any other resources.

52. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

### CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. One section of the *first* thirty of the Sakâdûm<sup>1</sup> contains particulars about reward *by* command of the religion, the bridge *judgment* of the destroyers of the well-commanding, *and* the provision for their destruction. 2. About the importance of a man, after fifteen years of age *and* when he has heard that there is a law<sup>2</sup> which is good, *having* sought that law<sup>2</sup> by *having* enquired *about it*. 3. About a man's scrutinizing an action before doing *it*, when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work,

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to the eighteenth word, yim, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the nineteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. This name, which is here written like Zakî-hat-min, should probably be Zîk-aīt-tûm, meaning 'the most intimate concerns,' as the Nask refers chiefly to personal and family law; but it is called Askâram, or Sakadâm, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained fifty-two kardah, fargards, or vêcast; thus agreeing with the total of the sections mentioned in Chaps. XXXVIII, XLI.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible to read yêdatô, 'sacred being,' instead of dâdô, 'law.'

*and* when it is possible for him to set it aside *and* not to do it.

4. About advice as to *having* entered into a house in the night by the light of a fire, or when *one* has noticed it in this place, though he goes elsewhere; *also* the watchful destruction of an injured person, or animal, or garment, *and* the retribution for the injury. 5. About the extent of any glitter of the sparks (*zakhsh-1-i parkân*), *and* the width *and* height of the doors of the constructed work of that appointed place *of the fire*.

6. About a new-born child, as to how *one has* to provide its place, connected lawfully *with* illumination<sup>1</sup>, more particularly *for* the first three nights.

7. About bringing a fire to *drive* away the overpowering fiend, and making the child taste first the Hôm-juice, so far as collected within its precincts (*varân*), and, secondly, the butter of *Maidôk-zarem*<sup>2</sup> which is to be brought forward for it; *also* the watchfulness of the father and mother over the child, and the extent of their retiring (*navistanô*) from the two sides of the *new*-born. 8. About lawfully-made places of several kinds for the child, the limits *and* manner of the mother's giving milk to the child, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

9. About carrying forth holy-water, *or* even a cooking-pot, to a fire, where the hands are purified *and* thoroughly washed; *and* the sin owing to an un-

<sup>1</sup> To protect it from the demons who are supposed to be specially dangerous during the first three nights.

<sup>2</sup> Equivalent to 'mid-spring butter,' the Av. *maidhyô-zare-maya*, 'mid-verdure,' being the season corresponding to the middle of the second Parsi month, which was early in May when the year commenced at the vernal equinox (see Bd. XXV, 6, 21).

purified hand, not thoroughly washed, carrying *them* forth. 10. About the preservation of the cooking-pot, and the rest of one's operations with the fire, from defilement; *but* when, through want of care, defilement occurs, *by* the inexperience of any one bringing *it* to the fire, he who is careless is thereby contaminated, *and* the cooking-pot is properly placed in its position.

11. Arranging about properly-made bed-places (*gåsvârakö*) in a house, those for children and those for adults; also a decision about *a case* when a carpenter (*dûrgar*) shall make a bed-place properly which one's own judgment considers improperly *made*, and when both *consider it* improperly, *or* when both *consider it* properly *made*; *and* more of whatever is on the same subject.

12. About what is the mode of producing seeing properly; *and*, when not seeing properly, the oculist (*dîdpân*) to intrust with it is *he* who informs people, who wish for it, *how* to extract the defect of sight; if not, the people go on and hurt; *also* the penalty for hurting, and whatever is on the same subject.

13. About the insubordination of those accustomed to work (*kâr-khûgarân*) to women and children; also that of a grown-up man who *has* been giving no food<sup>1</sup> three *times* in succession; he, too, it is who advanced the fourth *time*<sup>2</sup>, because, owing to giving no food a fourth *time*, the man is *he* who *has* to accomplish work unrestrictedly; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XVII, 6.

<sup>2</sup> This passage appears to refer to that quoted in Farh. Oîm, p. 38, ll. 8, 9; though the latter part of Chap. XLI, 19 is more applicable to ll. 4-8 of the same page.

14. About the care of a pointed thing, that is, how *it* is to be carried to a dwelling in the world, how *it* is to be deposited, *and* the sin owing to keeping and depositing *it* otherwise. 15. And about every garment<sup>1</sup> and utensil, even including such as a scum-pot, an hour-glass, and a dining-tray; that is, how *they are* to be deposited in the dwelling, *and* the sin owing to variously<sup>2</sup> placing *and* taking care of *them*. 16. About a door which is properly made; how it is when it falls down, and a wound arises from it, the carpenter *being* innocent regarding it; *and* how it is when *he is* guilty.

17. About washing the head, the care of the water and the religious ritual therein, and whatever is on the same subject. 18. About the period *for* arranging the hair, in which they shave the hair. 19. About the shaving of a child the first time, and the ritual which is taught for it; the performance of shaving *by* an instructed barber and with a sharp razor, which is the appointed practice as regards the razor of adults, *and* that also for children *with* the children's razor, because *it is* settled healthfulness; his whetstone (*sôñ*), and also the care of the razor. 20. About the number of the positions of a man, in which a barber can perform shaving, and that of the positions of the barber; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

21. About each one of those who are custodians (*kîrûk-kârânö*), and the rules of the market; also their abstaining from wounding each other with a pike (*têkh*), *or* other implement, with which they

<sup>1</sup> Or *gâmak* may mean 'a cup.'

<sup>2</sup> Reading *min gûnagîhâ*.

shall perform *their* duty; *likewise* the sin owing to heedlessness. 22. About giving forth a pointed thing lawfully, and a wound owing to not giving *it* forth lawfully; lawfully taking *and* giving away a plate of broken victuals (*padkhûr*), and a wound owing to *doing it* unlawfully; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the appointed place (*dâdgâh*) of a horse-course *and its* distance from the middle of a town, the nature of the horse-course, the training (*farhâng*) *and* masters of manœuvres (*padân-i farhângânö*) when in *it*, the shooting of arrows on the horse-course, *and* the wound which occurs to man *or* animal, how it is when culpable, and how it is when not culpable. 24. About admitting a listener; where, why, *and* how *he is* to be admitted; *and* the guilt *or* innocence as regards a wound owing to him.

25. About the mode of making a *sacred thread-girdle*<sup>1</sup>, *and* the harm from an unusual formation of it. 26. About lawfully tying *it*, without the culpability (*vazagîh*) of unauthorised action; *also* when they do not tie *it* lawfully, *but* the girdling is knotted (*viragi-aîtö*) *and* twisted owing to culpability (*vazagâñh*); and whatever is on the same subject.

27. About lawfully scratching *with* the nails, and the harm from unlawfully scratching. 28. About lawfully attending to a fire on the road; and, when one arrives at a ford *through* water, the sin which arises, as to fire, from not lawfully caring about the fire.

29. About warriors who mingle together in panic (*mazangîh*) and darkness; injury happens *to* one

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<sup>1</sup> See Dd. XXXIX, 1 n.

from the other, and the statement of the account published is *that there was* a state of terror; also whatever is on the same subject. 30. About the march of an army which is in fear, *and* that which is in *a state of* fearlessness which is the distinction of the army of Irân from those of foreigners. 31. About lawfully and habitually requiring a share, and the harm from unlawfully and unhabitually requiring *it*.

32. About carrying firewood, brought away from the hills, into the house; depositing *it* at first by the tongs (dast-pânakö); watching, turning, and inspecting *it*, *and* carrying *it* away to the fire; that is, how *to do it* lawfully, the sin owing to unlawfully performing *it*, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 33. About lawfully warming bull's urine<sup>1</sup> by the fire, *and* the sin when *it is not lawfully done*.

34. About selecting a pasture, one ranked above the others; that is, how *to do it* lawfully, the sin when *one* shall do *it* otherwise, *and*, owing to that, he is really injured, *or* occasions injury. 35. About what is the mode *of* construction of a lawfully-formed farm-house (dast-kadakö), the dwelling of the people, *and* the place of the beasts *of burden* and cattle; *also* the sin when *one* shall construct *it* otherwise, *and*, owing to that, he is really injured, *or* occasions injury.

36. A decision about *a case* when *one person has* lawfully to force *away* a beast *of burden* from a control unlawfully *exercised*, *and another person intrudes* unauthorisedly, *and vexes* the district authorities (pad-dihânan). 37. Also when *being* done un-

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<sup>1</sup> Intended for ceremonial purification.

lawfully, and the beast *being away* from its control unlawfully *exercised*, the *other* person intrudes lawfully; and when both *persons act* unlawfully, or when both *act* lawfully. 38. About lawfully tying, whereby things are hung up; and the sin when, through an unlawfully-tied fastening, anything is injured, or occasions injury. 39. About unlawfully keeping horses in a stable (*âkhûr*), and the sin owing to the unlawfulness. 40. And, as regards the cutting of trees and shrubs, where and how it is lawfully done, and the harm and sin owing to not lawfully cutting. 41. About the mode of washing clothing, and the sin owing to different modes. 42. About the mode of walking in, and the sin owing to unusual walking in. 43. About the custom of a man of the sagacious (*dânâkvarân*) on passing through water, and the harm and sin owing to acting otherwise.

44. About the kinds of canals (*nâî*)<sup>1</sup> and fords, from those for two men passing, up to those for many; the dimensions of those which are large, and how much they are each separately sunk into the ground, without collecting water, when the ground is hard, and how much when it is soft. 45. The extent of their outer<sup>2</sup> banks, and the inspection as to the banks when the water is brackish, warm, and flowing; how far when outside of the water, and how far when in the water. 46. When it is brackish, cold, and flowing; or brackish, warm, and stagnant; or sweet, warm, and flowing; how far when in the water, and how far when outside. 47. And, when

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<sup>1</sup> For irrigation.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *vîrûnag*, but the word is miswritten *nîrang-i*.

brackish, cold, *and* stagnant; or sweet, cold, *and* flowing; or sweet, warm, and stagnant; how far when in the water, and how far when outside of the water. 48. What is the customary operation as regards the inspection of the banks; how is the stagnation (*astinidānō*) within a pool dammed up (*zarēh-stānō-aē*), and the stone-work inside, from the canal which is for ten men passing, up to that for many; *and* how is the damming up inside of the canal, the stagnation within the pool dammed up, or the reedy jungle (*vēsakō*) when distributed and it becomes tall.

49. What are the mode *and* means of maintaining the supervision of a canal; which is that *which one* should maintain over the water of the canal when half is distributed, *or*, when not, one-third; and which is that when one-third is distributed, *or*, when not, one-fourth; a supervision which is animate *or* inanimate, *and* after those which are inanimate means are provided<sup>1</sup>, the former animate ones are then at rest; *and* the harm *and* sin when they shall act otherwise. 50. And, as regards the same, what is the mode of passage of animals of various species, by swimming across the water; *and* the sin, owing to acting otherwise, when harm occurs. 51. About the trampling down at a ford *through* water, when *one* is newly completing *it*, and when *the water is* brackish *and* flowing, when *it is* brackish *and* stagnant, when *it is* sweet *and* flowing, and when *it is* sweet *and* stagnant; the reason of passing through on it, *and* such *and* such ways for proceeding at

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<sup>1</sup> In the shape of sluices for regulating the supply of water for irrigation.

will thereon ; so, also, observation as to the water which *has* remained behind for flowing, and the harm *and sin* when *one* does not properly observe *it*, *but walks on*.

52. About two of the warriors who meet together on the road, which *of them* was *busy* about the protection of *his* horse, *and* which about the preparation of food ; *also* the usage *and* other *things* in similar matters. 53. The sin of *having* eaten food for refreshment on the road, that is, how the custom is a sin when they can act otherwise.

54. About the remedies for sheep and beasts *of burden* which reinfuse fresh life ; and the extent of keeping the sheep, goat, cow, mare, ass, pig<sup>1</sup>, and woman with the male. 55. About beasts *of burden*, sheep (anūmāñō), and women, for whom, on account of contraction of orifice, *there is* a use of means for making *it* not painful (atūtakō). 56. About the extent of the distance of a male beast from the female when it is necessary to be watchful. 57. About the distance that a man *has* to remove an ox that *has* destroyed *some* concealed hay (barkasag giyah) which is the hay of others, when they quarrel with him ; how it is when *it is* allowable to bring *the ox* back to *his* home ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

58. About the security of a man from the death (aôsh) of *his* fathers, and danger *having* arisen for him from a mouth *of* bad omen. 59. About the sin of a father owing to a child, when, *being* given by him to an ill-behaved *person*<sup>2</sup>, he calls *it and*, when

<sup>1</sup> Instead of khar va-khazûrâ, the MS. has khêr va-zak-î ras.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming that minênamakô-1 stands for apênamakô-1;

it comes, *there* may occur the sin of unlawfully terrifying sheep, and the beast of *burden* is beaten; and whatever is on the same subject. 60. About bringing<sup>1</sup> a plant which is a medicinal herb, and whatever is on the same subject.

61. About a sociable feast (*ham-myâzdîh*) with idolators, that is, how it is *when held* authorisedly, and how it is when *it is* not; and, when *one* gives the sociable feast, how it is *when they are to be considered* unhonoured, and how it is when they are to be considered more honoured even than the Irânians. 62. And about the broken victuals which the idolators *have eaten and drunk* therein.

63. About the proportion of meat with the bread in atonement for deprival of food<sup>2</sup>. 64. About an ordeal which is severe, and *one which is* not severe; and the evidence of acquittal from the achievement thereof. 65. About the secrets of the religion, and the sin owing to *their being* disclosed (*gushûftö*). 66. About the sin of speaking evil words to the wives of others. 67. About the extent of the most inferior house, village, community, and province; and that of the most superior. 68. And about what *was* the mode of residence of Frashôstar and Gâmâsp<sup>3</sup> in a plundering (*lâiskar*) army, and their habits.

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the copyist having mistaken *ap* for *az*, and substituted the Zvâri equivalent *min* for the latter which he supposed was a separate word.

<sup>1</sup> Or 'abstracting.'

<sup>2</sup> See Chaps. XVII, 6, XXXVII, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Two brothers who were contemporaries of Zarâtûst. Fra shôstar was his father-in-law, and Gâmâsp was prime minister c king Vistâsp.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

*Sakâdûm Nask.*

1. One section is the *Hakîdakânistân* ('*code of sequestrations*'), particulars about a statement of seized property, the retention thereof, and how was the confinement of that which was animate; how it is when one keeps it in a shepherd's-dog's care, and how it is when in the sequestrator's care (*hakîdakôdârîh*). 2. And when it is a seized horse of the warriors, how to keep it when it is not possible to retain it in confinement of any kind, and the damage which has arisen therefrom; what is the danger to occasion by it, how it is when the shelter (*srâyisnö*)<sup>1</sup> is on all sides, and how it is when on one side; while the trust, when there is shelter, is in the extent of the shelter, how much and of what kind is the shelter. 3. When it is a seized beast of burden, after its coming into the possession of the sequestrator (*hakîdak-dâr*), for how long he has to order work for the reasoning thought of the herdsman, and how is that of the sequestrator, in like manner, before he quite attains to his share; even through his own reasoning thought the work is authorisedly ordered, and how and in what manner is the ordering of his work. 4. And when the seized animal has offspring, in what mode he has to milk it, as well as the nourishment of the young, and whatever is on the same subject; also the sin owing to doing it unlawfully.

5. About the sequestrator when the beast of burden seized comes into his possession, how it is

<sup>1</sup> Av. *thrâ*.

when its special reputation is altered, *and* how it is when it comes with utility and advantage for him. 6. About the seizer's keeping a sheep, which is seized, in *his* flock; that is, how the custom is produced, owing to its milk *being* for the *sacred* feast, and the notification of the feasts is owing to the seized<sup>1</sup> sheep; when, too, it is not possible to keep *it* in the flock, what is the mode of confining *it*; and when it is not possible to keep *it* in confinement, what *he has* to do with it. 7. About the wool of a sheep which is seized; that is, how it is when the shearing is even before the various times specified, *and* the sin of shearing when *it is* before the time specified, *or one* shears when there is no reason for shearing. 8. About the lambing (*gurūsīdō*) of the sheep seized, and the sin owing to *its* not lambing.

9. About sheltering (*srudānō*)<sup>2</sup> the seized *animal* in the most public place in a house, village, community, *or* province. 10. About the sin of the shepherd when, without saving *it* for the sequestrator, *and* through the guilelessness of the sequestrator, he shall carry away a female; *and* the sin which is owing to the offence as regards unlawfully beating *and* wounding *it*, before *it is* seized for the buyers of meat (*khūr-kharānō*), *and* other offences regarding it. 11. About the time appointed, between the shepherd and the sequestrator, for leading *and* bringing the female, *belonging to* the sequestrator, to the place for which the time is appointed; *in the case* when the shepherd arrives *and* the sequestrator does

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *hakīdakō*, 'seized,' the MS. has the very similarly written word *avēzakō*, 'pure.'

<sup>2</sup> Compare *srāyisnō* in § 2, and *srūdan* in § 11.

not, how that which *belongs to* the sequestrator is to come into the possession of the sequestrator, and when ; when *it is* the sheep or beast of burden of a sequestrator<sup>1</sup>, how *it is* to come into the possession of that sequestrator ; when the sheep or beast of burden which is seized dies in the possession of the sequestrator, how and how long *he has* to shelter (*srûdan*) the young ones (*gurûs*) and wool of the same several sheep ; and the sin when he does not shelter *them*, or *does it* otherwise.

12. About a sheep<sup>2</sup> which is mingled among the flock of any one that is in sequestration, how it is when the shepherd, and how it is when the shepherd's dog, is its own ; and when it is mingled among any flock owing to sequestration, how it is when the shepherd, and how it is when the shepherd's dog, [who is its own]<sup>3</sup> goes to another flock ; how it is when the first flock-owner, and how it is when the second, is its own. 13. About the killing of a seized sheep by a shepherd's dog for necessary provisions ; that is, how *it is* allowable, and *in* what mode *it is* to be done.

14. About him unto whom the sheep or beast of burden which is seized is delivered when it comes into a district ; and the sequestrator's informing the governor of the district, in whose herd the sheep or beast of burden which is seized remains, as to the species, colour, and form of it<sup>4</sup>. 15. Watching over

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps another sequestrator is meant.

<sup>2</sup> The first case seems to be that of an unseized sheep in a seized flock, and the second that of a seized sheep in an unseized flock.

<sup>3</sup> The words in brackets are supplied by guess, to fill up a blank space left by the repairer of the MS. on one of his patches.

<sup>4</sup> Reading va-darand-î denman.

a man with sheep, who is in a disabled state of illness owing to a wound *received* in his duty as regards slaughtering; the case when *he is* concealed from a passer-by (amat nîhân min vidâr) and there is protection, when *he is* an eater *and* there is no protection, when *he is* not eating and there is protection, and when *he is* not eating *and* there is no protection.

16. About the distraction<sup>1</sup> of a sequestrator as regards a sheep or beast of burden which is seized, when *it is* one *out* of four varieties<sup>2</sup>, and when one *out* of three; when he nourishes *it for* half a year, *and* when *for* the duration of a year; when that which he obtains is a young *one*, and when that which he obtains is large, where *and* what is a shelter for it, and, *as to* the care of it, how it is when *in* a grain vault (*kigârakö-1*), *and* when it is *under* a tree; how it is when *in* a damaged cellar (*varkhö-1-i kûstakö*), and how it is when *in* a cage (*pangar-1*) which is not incomplete, *but is* broken, or *is* not incomplete and *is* sound, or *is* complete and sound.

17. About treasure which *they find* in the surroundings of a dwelling, *and* that which they *find* within the limits of the dwelling of any one. 18. About buried treasure when it is found by the side of a

<sup>1</sup> Reading *hâzakö*, but it is possibly a contracted form of *ayâvakö*, 'gain.'

<sup>2</sup> If it were allowable to omit this word, *âyûinakö*, 'variety,' and to substitute 'gain' for 'distraction,' the sentence would stand as follows:—'About the gain of a sequestrator as regards a sheep or beast of burden which is seized, when he nourishes *it for* one-fourth, when *for* one-third, when *for* half a year, *and* when *for* the duration of a *whole* year.' This seems more intelligible than the text as it stands in the MS.

road, *and* the ground is hard, how it is when it is one finger-breadth below, *and* how it is when it is two finger-breadths; as well as (*ham-gûn*) when the ground is soft, how it is when it is two finger-breadths below, *and* how it is when it is three finger-breadths. 19. When it is found within the road, and the ground is hard, how it is when it is two finger-breadths below, and how it is when it is three finger-breadths; *and* when the ground is soft, how it is when it is three finger-breadths below, and how it is when it is four finger-breadths. 20. When it is in an ascent or descent, there where *one* turns out from the road, and the ground is hard, how it is when it is below up to the instep<sup>1</sup>, and how it is when it is up to the middle of the leg (*patistân*)<sup>2</sup>; *and if* soft, how it is when it is below up to the middle of the leg, and how it is when it is up to the knee. 21. When it is in a stream of water, *and* the ground is hard, how it is when it is below up to the knee, and how it is when it is up to mid-thigh; and when the ground is soft, how it is when it is below up to mid-thigh, *and* how it is when it is up to the testicles. 22. When it is in a ford through the water, and the ground is hard, how it is when it is below up to the testicles, *and* how it is when it is up to the navel; and when the ground is soft, how it is when it is below up to the navel, and how it is when it is up to the mouth. 23. And when it is in a kitchen (*âs-khânö*), the middle of a garden (*van*), or a sheep-fold (*pâh-hastö*); that is, how it is when it is not a permanent residence (*afrâz-mânisnö*) of any-

<sup>1</sup> Supposing that Pâz. *âavad* is intended for *âfrapad*.

<sup>2</sup> That is, up to the shin.

body, *and* how it is when *it is* a permanent residence<sup>1</sup>.

24. About *him* who nourishes a sheep which is seized; that is, how it is when *it is* out of his store, *and* how it is when he nourishes it *as* it arrives.

25. About a dispute as regards a sheep that is seized, when one *person* says *it was* born of the colour of the mother, *and another* one says *it was* of her form<sup>2</sup>, both *being* true; or one *person* mentions a single characteristic truly, *and another* one mentions many characteristics of it untruly; the *cases* when they mention *its* peculiarities otherwise, *and* in what manner; and whatever is on the same subject.

26. About a sheep<sup>3</sup> seized, which *has* to pass on through the loftiest places in which *there* is lawfully shelter; *and* how *there* are three years, three existences (*ahvân*), three places, nine occasions, and also many other regulations on the same subject.

## CHAPTER XL.

### *Sakâdûm Nask.*

1. One section is the *Ziyânakistân* ('*code of the injured*'), about *anything* which is animate—and that *which is* inanimate—injured through lawfully living, giving, receiving, *or* delivering back; the duty of protection and care for both kinds; the nourish-

<sup>1</sup> The utility of these minute details was probably to determine how long the treasure had been buried, and for what purpose, and whether there was any possibility of the rightful owner being still alive.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *darand-î denman*.

<sup>3</sup> Supposing that *pêš* stands for *pâh*.

ment, extension, sustentation, stimulation, establishment, consolation, and also gratification of an animate being; and the retribution for sin due to unlawfulness as regards the same matters.

2. About an example of a damaged gift, *in the case* when *one* gives the thing *to* a poor (*gadâk*) person, at an appointed time, *and* when at *one* unappointed; *and in the case* when *one* gives him an increase, where *and* what is the increase. 3. A decision about a shepherd when they shall bring *him* back *an animal*<sup>1</sup>, when damaged, before *its* subdivision; what he obtains for the damaged *animal* when not delivered back at the time of subdivision; when the duty about it is dictated by a religious *man*, and when he keeps *it* in *his own* possession.

4. About property which is inanimate, whose subdivisions, each separately, when *one* keeps *them* in use<sup>2</sup>, and when in reserve (*armêstô*), are greater and less in value; that is, through so much effecting of penance (*avâkangisnô*) worthily, *or* through so much bringing of interest; and the capital is the same *in value*, the increase *being* the growth of dividends.

5. About the reason why the sin of an injured *person becomes* innocent through not delivering back a damaged *article*<sup>3</sup>; *and* many opinions, on the same subject, are provided for *our* benefit.

<sup>1</sup> Probably one sold by him to a butcher.

<sup>2</sup> For trading, or pious purposes.

<sup>3</sup> Suffering wrongs without complaint being meritorious.

## CHAPTER XLI.

*Sakâdûm Nask.*

1. One section of the *last* twenty-two is the Vakhshistân ('increase code'), particulars about the progress of increase. 2. About atonement, surrender, and compensation *for* anything, through dispelling *it* by compensating, atoning, *and* surrendering to *him* whose own *it is*; the period thereof not *being* appointed. 3. When he, whose origination of compensation, atonement, *and* surrender is his own, has appointed the period thereof, the growing of the sin actively, after the appointed time, is increase.

4. About increase<sup>1</sup> which is active (*kardakō*), and that which is existent (*zistakō*); how it is when the existent becomes quite active, and how it is when both are suppressed (*armêsti-ait*). 5. About the extraction of increase upon increases which they may occasion *up* to an equality; where *and* which *it is*. 6. About a righteous gift; that is, how it is when overwhelmed by impoverishment, *and* how it is when its increase still proceeds.

7. About the progress of interest (*vakhsh*) upon effective wealth, when there is interest for it, and the interest thereon accumulates; also that which does not progress; how it is when the debtor (*âvâm-hômônd*), even on bringing back the wealth, is opulent, *and* the lender (*âvâm nafsman*) is opulent on asking for *it*; how it is when each is not opulent, *and* the debtor *was* not opulent on asking for *it*; *and* how it is when the lender (*âvâm khvêš*)

<sup>1</sup> As this word is written *vakhs* (= *nâs*) it is doubtful whether *vakhsh*, 'increase,' or *vinâs*, 'sin,' is intended; and the context is insufficient to solve the doubt.

is opulent on asking for *it*, and the debtor is not opulent through the wealth.

8. About where and when the life (*zistano*) of the lender has once passed away, how it is when the loan is to be issued anew at the end of the issue (*zihisnō*), and how it is when it has existed in force, through the one issue by the deceased, and the interest accrues. 9. When the debtor passes away, how it is when he puts the interest into the property of any one through adoption, and how it is when it is the interest of the possessor of the wealth in both worlds.

10. About the peculiarity of retribution, the self-retribution of one liable to retribution for others, and the limit of one's own retribution. 11. About the penalty (*tâvân*) of him who, purchasing animals for impregnation, gives each a bad male; when they are not pregnant, and when they may produce; and whatever is on the same subject. 12. About the time of allowing the admission of the male to the beast of burden, sheep, and camel, and the time of consignment to each separate male for whom reception remains; the case when it is the time for admission of the male (*gûsn-hilîh*), and the case when it is such a consignment as when the period, which is really originating with the admission of the male, has continued. 13. When, on account of no consignment to the male at the proper time, the female goes on unimpregnated, and there is no pregnancy of the cow, mare, camel, sheep, goat, or pig, each separately, how much the penalty is; also the sin they commit.

14. About the camel, mare, cow, or sheep, unto whom there is damaged milk, void of butter (*akarag*), owing to the appointed time one postpones; also the

average *and* least milk of the mare, cow, goat, and sheep, that is, the measure of their one milking, each separately. 15. About the camel, that is, how much is its production of hair in a year, *and* the extent that the camel is surpassing therein among cattle; of them is also the ass that they allow to be seized upon for as much value as that of the oxen, and the mode of beating them up. 16. Where *and* how it is when the females of the camel and horse are a multiplying (*afzûnð*) *tending* to dissatisfaction; the increase even of increases of the ox, sheep, and goat progresses, *and* of them how much less is the multiplying of the female—which is an increase of increases *tending* to dissatisfaction, where *it is* extending over them—to be produced than that of the male.

17. The camel which is injured *on* the road, beyond the end of the appointed time, when they keep it *at* work unlawfully and the road is bad, when *at* work unlawfully *and* the road is good, *and* when comfortable at pasture, where seizing upon it becomes *tending* to dissatisfaction in several *ways*, and they are severally buying *it* when really invigorated<sup>1</sup>, or *at* a price.

18. For how much increase of increases he stands up who is buying also an invigorated dog, *or* pig, at a price; and when *it is that* the increase and increase of increases remain undeveloped in them, as it *does* whenever property, *on* which the interest of the residue and income accumulates, is still for the children *of* the well-destined.

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<sup>1</sup> Pâz. *aôsanghen*, both here and in § 18, no doubt for Av. *aoganghem*, as in Chap. XX, 58, the Av. *» g* and *» s* being much alike.

19. About *him* whose supplies some one is silently (agôpô) buying up, and the seller and important holder is quite bereaved, so that the bereaver *has* plenty for *one* deprived of food *on* a summer's day, and plenty for him who is *so also on* a winter's day (dim-iķik); *also* the supplying of mankind and fire lawfully, in the beginning, for a summer's day and night, *and* that for a winter's one<sup>1</sup>. 20. About clothing when *it is that* which *one* strips off for donation. 21. About the penalty for a first deprival of food, *and* the sin of it; *also* the penalty of the second and third, up to the tenth.

22. About a plaint and defence as regards a debt and its interest, and the decision thereon; *also* how *it is* when, for keeping up the repayment, debts upon debts are cancelled so far as the continuance of interest; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the uselessness of supplies which are not authorised *by* the religion. 24. About buying a slaughtered<sup>2</sup> sheep when the seller is bereaved by the delivery; *also* to how many sheep, in the two previous years, the increase and increase of increases thereof *had* specially to attain. 25. About where *and* what is that which would not conduce to increase, *and* what is that which *would*. 26. About the special sin and offence, the use of the milk, heart<sup>3</sup>, and wool, the spreading about *which tends* to dissatisfaction, the increase of increases, and the good

<sup>1</sup> See Farh. Oim, p. 38, ll. 4-8, and compare Chap. XXXVIII, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Reading barâ-zegtalûntakô, which word has been corrupted by the repairer of the MS.

<sup>3</sup> Reading dîl, but the word can also be read sar, 'head.'

figure of any one sheep, and the regulation of every one.

27. About how the debtor *has* to announce the nature of the loan, *which* the lender, through irritation, does not approve; and, when the debtor has provided for a triple issue, when for a double issue, *and* even when he has for a single issue, the first year is *free* from begging his own time. 28. About the debtor *and* what<sup>1</sup> he repays, when each year is announced *and* he does not assent; *and* how it happens, as regards the debtor, through many repayments, and all the postponements of the lender<sup>2</sup>.

29. About causing the confiscation (pâdirângarîh) of a human being (gerpih)<sup>3</sup>; and *its* cessation<sup>4</sup> owing to worldly work, where *it is* for one month, *or*, thence onwards, for a second, a third, a sixth, a ninth, *or* a year at worldly work, *and* where *it is* regarding several human beings; the production of gain which accrues upon that single human being; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 30. About the confiscation of a cloak (gudâd) in the winter, *and of* a skin-bag for holding water (maskö-î ðvdânö) in the summer; about whom *they are* appertaining to, on the passing by of the first ten nights, where *it is* after the bringing out of the cloak at the beginning of winter, *and of* the water-skin at the beginning of summer; *or* prior to the length of a month previous,

<sup>1</sup> Supposing that madam stands for maman; the two words being sometimes confounded.

<sup>2</sup> Who allows the debtor a longer time for repayment.

<sup>3</sup> Literally 'bodily form.' The seizure of a slave of the debtor to work off the amount of the debt is evidently meant.

<sup>4</sup> Reading va-sakisnö instead of the very similarly-written nikëzisnö, 'explanation,' of the MS.

severally, to the end of the winter as regards the cloak, and to the end of the summer as regards the water-skin; that is, for how much gain upon that one cloak, or water-skin, is the retribution of the confiscator to whom it is appertaining<sup>1</sup>; and whatever is on the same subject.

31. About the increase of grains, and that of sheep with the progeny, milk, and wool that they may severally produce. 32. About the confiscation of clothes and implements by delivering them back to him who specially reckons many as his own<sup>2</sup>; that is, how the produce (vakhsh) increases when he orders their use imperfectly, how it does when he does so not imperfectly, and how it does when he keeps them in inactivity. 33. About the produce of land on which grain is cast, and of that on which it is not cast (va-zak-i an-madam ramituntô)<sup>3</sup>, when by delivery thereof it is self-exhausted. 34. And so also the produce of ornaments of gold and silver, and of red-coloured things, with many regulations on the same subject and what is connected therewith.

<sup>1</sup> This seems the more probable meaning if we are to understand that the confiscation has been actually carried out at an improper season; but, if we suppose that it is avoided on account of the season, it would be better to translate as follows:—‘For how much gain upon that one cloak, or water-skin, is the confiscator, to whom it is appertaining, to be compensated.’

<sup>2</sup> Possibly referring to the seizure of articles sold by a dealer, but not paid for.

<sup>3</sup> The form an of the negative prefix is here used because the Zvâris an-madam is replaced by the Pâz an-avar in pronunciation.

## CHAPTER XLII.

*Sakâdûm Nask.*

1. One section, the Varistân ('*ordeal code*'), contains particulars of that *which*, when it becomes manifest in any one, is indicative as to witchcraft; the bringing of remedies *for* the person who is rendered sickly by a wizard; the execution of the wizard, what the religious rite is in the legal proceedings, *and* the *case* when *there is* a religious rite in the legal proceedings. 2. About the *case* when, for want of legal proceedings, he is executed without the religious rite; and what it is when<sup>1</sup> he dies through his own destruction of some one.

3. About the accomplishment of an *ordeal* by which, through the power of the spirit, *there* arises a manifestation of acquittal *or* incrimination of those maintaining inconsistencies as to witchcraft, destroying a righteous *man*, *or* other concealed instigations of sin<sup>2</sup>; the time of its performance, and the place of hurtfulness of its continuance. 4. About the place of accomplishment; *in* what manner is the selection (*fragârdanô*), limitation, *and* preparation of the abode *in* which the *ordeal* is performed; that which is to be carried forth to that abode, *and* that of which the carrying thereto is to be avoided; who is to be admitted to that abode, *and* who is not to be admitted; *and* that which, when it occurs there,

<sup>1</sup> We should probably read 'and about the *case* when,' supposing that *maman* stands for madam, the reverse of what occurs in Chap. XLI, 28.

<sup>2</sup> That is, when there is no evidence of the crime beyond the suspicions, real or assumed, of the accusers.

is a disturbance of the work, they separate (*vangend*) therefrom.

5. About those belonging to the place of ordeal (*varistānīkān*) and other officials there, the rites and customs therein, the ceremonial to be celebrated in the abode, *and* the invocation of the sacred beings for assistance. 6. What is the mode *of* performing the hot and cold ordeal; how is the leading forth *of* the accomplishers thereto, and of what Avesta is their uplifted recitation; how is the accomplishment of the hot and cold ordeal, *and* the manifestation *of* the acquitted and incriminated thereby; *and* many statements (*gôkân*) on the same subject.

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### CHAPTER XLIII.

#### *Sakâdum Nask.*

1. One section is miscellaneous: about *having* sought an assistant who is brought, that is, in what mode *it* is proper; *and* the payment of an assistant who is a member of the community (*dâhm*)<sup>1</sup>, and also that of a foreigner (*an-Aîr*), in the same affair.
2. About how the coming of a man to confinement and fettering is through his own wealth, and whatever is on the same subject.
3. About confession through one, two, and three statements; *and* whatever is about it.
4. About the contempt *of* a disciple for a *priestly* master, which is an annoyance to him; the property *belonging* to the master, and the squandering that occurs in *it*.

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<sup>1</sup> The contradistinction here indicated between *dâhm* and *an-Aîr* is an important confirmation of Geldner's definition of Av. *dahma* as 'Vollbürger oder Mitglieder' (see *Studien zum Avesta*, 1882, p. 14).

5. The sin that is its own penalty through *being* liable to penalty, *and* the transgressor whose penalty is owing thereto; when they would unlawfully bring a penalty upon *one* liable to penalty, or *one* thereby inflicts a penalty *upon* him, of which *one* is aware that *he* is not capable (*patukō*); and the time which *one* liable to penalty *has* for the payment of that penalty of his is until *his* attaining to opulence, when, after the appointment about the penalty, he becomes capable of an atonement. 6. About the accumulation (*gangīh*) of sin through the expedients of the wrathful (*garmakān*), which are connected with much destruction of the righteous. 7. About the sin owing to which, among those that are wrathful, *he* who *has* drunk from a well on a road, *or* path, conceals the water for the sake of concealment.

8. About the sin of a judge who pronounces the sinner *to be* in innocence, and the innocent *to be* in some sinfulness. 9. About a judge acquainted with the law<sup>1</sup> *for* ten years, him who is *for* eleven, him who is *for* twelve, him who is *for* thirteen, him who is *for* fourteen, *and* him who is *for* fifteen; that is, their decisions, each separately, on several specially prominent objects of acquaintance with the law, as regards decision and judgment.

10. About a daughter whose religious control, during the life of her father, *resides* in *her* mother for the joint life of the mother, but for<sup>2</sup> the authorised giving *her* away there is the father. 11. About a daughter who is unprovided with a husband, *and*

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<sup>1</sup> See Chaps. XX, 74, XXII, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *rāī* instead of *lā*, 'not.'

who *has* no father and no mother, nor yet any of the brothers of the departed parents, *and it* is not even allowable to give herself away into guardianship by a husband.

12. About property which is *bequeathed* by will *on* passing away; that is, how it is when given, *and* how it is when it does not exist. 13. About the privilege of a father in giving property to *his* children according to his wish, and a son who is irreverent towards *his* father, so that<sup>1</sup> *some* of the property of the father *goes* to the worthy mother; also when they would make irreverence towards the father the imputed characteristic (*bâkht nîsânö*), where a decree about the property of the father is decided upon; *and* whatever is on the same subject, as regards the extent of irreverence *of* the son towards the father, and the sin of it.

14. About the sin of a son<sup>2</sup> who is accepted, when he recoils from that acceptance; the accepter of a living, *or* even a departed, father is *so* because *it is* the will *of* the people, and also *for* the worldly fame of a soul of the departed; and the ceremonial *and* obeisance are, moreover, for those of them within their own dwelling, owing to letting forth their generosity, and they shall provide *them*.

15. About the production *and* arising of even that property which a liberal person *has* not seen, *if* there be any one who<sup>3</sup> *has* not lived liberally.

<sup>1</sup> As *aêgh* also means 'where,' it is rather uncertain whether the irreverence is supposed to be the cause, or the effect, of the special provision for the mother which afterwards becomes a source of litigation.

<sup>2</sup> An adopted son must be meant.

<sup>3</sup> Supposing that *min* stands for *mân*.

16. About the production *and* arising of something of the property of a damsel, even when she gives *it* by design only to him *who is* worthy.

17. About a damsel whom an idolator (*dēvīyast*) carries off from her own master, *and* would give to a Mazda-worshipper; that is, how *it is* justifiable for the Mazda-worshipper, *having* had that damsel in *his* possession, to seek a son by *her*, so long as the guardianship of the woman is with that man. 18. About a mother *being* guardian over a living father, owing to *their having* a son. 19. About the proper completion of a provision—that was for the decision of the supreme judge, *on* various statements, and was never otherwise—which is the provision of *him* who is a high-priest of the religion.

20. About the sin of a father through not satisfying the menstrual excitement of a daughter who *has* attained the capability of *having* a son (*berman radīh*); what it is when, through not satisfying the menstrual excitement of the daughter, *he is* sinful; and how it is when the daughter herself is sinful; also the symptoms of attaining the capability of *having* a son.

21. About where *and* which is that sin on the committal of which inadvertently *one* attains to deliverance thus, when it comes to his knowledge *it is* through a determined renunciation it goes away from *its* source; *also* which is that committal inadvertently which does not occur through him who is intelligent. 22. About the four more heinous forms of demon-service (*sēdā-yazakīh*), and the three worst sins wherein they shall perform *them*; the ten existences that are furtherances, and the nine that are destroyers, *of the world*.

23. About a true *statement* through which, when one utters *it*, *he* is wicked *and* worthy of death. 24. About driving the bestowable benefit of the spiritual *existence* away from the world, when he who is destroying a righteous *man* walks openly in the world ; how one section of the spirit's earth is that of a people<sup>1</sup> destroying the righteous *man*, and the complaint of the spirits of fire, water, and plants, owing thereto ; also how the bestowal of the allotment of a leading man is upon *his* inferiors. 25. About the three kinds of righteous men ; one that is greater than water *and* earth, animals *and* plants, one that is equal to *them*, and one that is less ; and what is the arrangement of—as *it were*—the conjoined formation of those who are somewhat outside of the three kinds.

26. About the grievous bridge-judgment for carrying forth dead matter to water, or to fire, with which there is evidence ; and the heaviness of the spirit due to dead matter in the water. 27. The good work of him who brings the dead matter<sup>2</sup> of man or dog,

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<sup>1</sup> Some neighbouring nation of unbelievers is probably meant, such as the Byzantines ; as we must always recollect that the compiler is summarizing the contents of the Pahlavi commentary written in Sasanian times (see Chap. I, 3).

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XXVII, 4. It appears from this section that the dead matter of an evil creature, such as a snake or frog, was considered to pollute the water as much as that of a good creature. § 28, however, admits the expediency of killing noxious creatures in the water when it is impossible to take them out beforehand ; and this is in accordance with Vend. V, 35-38 (W.) which teaches that an apostate defiles no one when dead (any more than a dried-up frog that has been dead a year), because he defiles while living. This rule was evidently intended to remove all scruples as to killing such creatures, but it applies to them only when recently killed ; hence the necessity of removing them, from any place liable to

*or* that of the serpent *or* frog, out of the water. 28. About the destruction of the serpent and frog, and other aquatic noxious creatures, in the water when it is *only* thus possible, *and* carrying *them* out from it when it is possible. 29. About the gratification of the spirit of the world, *and* the vexation of the demons, owing to the destruction of them.

30. Where *and* what are the tokens of the good<sup>1</sup> management and well-operating drinking-party (*tôsstîh*) of a neighbour not of the same district (*aham-shatrô nazd*). 31. About the sin of him who, after joining a drinking-party from sunset (*hû-frâshmôkdâdö*), pulverizes the road (*râh tekhnunêdö*), keeps the door opened, *and* would unlawfully make an uproar.

32. About *Aûharmazd having* produced the bodies *and* members of animals—through *having* created the body of the sole-created ox with satisfaction, as assistance for mankind—because *they* are repeated for protection, and also *for* the ceremonial for sacred beings specially declared. 33. About the reason of making offerings (*aûstôfrîdö*) to the sacred beings, for the increase of power of the allotters of destiny in the allotment of destiny; the connection of that acknowledgement (*padîrisnö*) and *of* the benefit *and* advantage of the recompense thereof; the proper maintenance *of* that acknowledgement, through the means *and* efficacy *of* the spiritual bridge-judgment of sin, and the fear of worldly disaster and harm from not properly maintaining the perpetual acknowledgement in force

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pollution, as soon as possible after death, common sense being preferable to logical consistency.

<sup>1</sup> Supposing that *vûp* stands for *khûp*.

(dēn patūkīh), *and from* the setting up even of ruin thereby; the reasonable control of the offering to each one of the sacred beings therein is for the skilful member of the community (hūnarīk dāhm) of whatever kind, *and* is not produced by intrusting the consecration to the violent, more particularly to those whom *one* specially enumerates; the sin and retribution owing to *having given it* to those who are of that class; *and* more upon the same subject.

34. About the damage and injury of the world owing to greed (āzō) and its fellow-miscreations, *and* him who is their supporter and abettor, the idolator (dēvīyastō), also the wolf of many kinds and noxious creatures of various species; because the occurrence of their fiendishness is due to the original fiend, *and* the means for strengthening their fiendishness are *derived* from the destruction of all mankind *and* the other primary worldly creations which are aiding mankind. 35. Advice to mankind about smiting and destroying the evil domination (dūs-khshasarīnidānō) of the world *by* those *injurers*, and the merit manifest for *themselves* therein; the object *and* spiritual reward for smiting *and* killing each one of the wolves *and* noxious creatures, *and*, as regards the same reward, the perfection of that for destroying a two-legged wolf<sup>1</sup>; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

36. About advice as to not reverencing the evil spirit and demons, whereby the observing (var'zō) of the several ceremonies and gratifications of the sacred beings *would be* more particularly irregular in *any* manner whatever, and the damage and

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<sup>1</sup> A term applied to an idolator.

harm owing to those *who are irregular and ill-observant*, through being inclined for that irregularity and ill-observance, *would become an oppressive presidency (pa<sup>g</sup>gahîh)* of the demons over the creatures; also the vice of clamorous talking (drâ-yân gôgîh)<sup>1</sup> and the damage owing thereto, and the pleasure of the demons due to the same and other things which are irregular. 37. Advice about the reason, habit, and primitive practice of not chattering, and other good customs, during eating and drinking; the gratification of the sacred beings owing to that primitive practice of good customs by mankind, and the unself-devoting (a-khvê-s-dâk) is he who is not maintaining it.

38. Through the ceremonial of which sacred being is the greater welcome (mâhmânōtarîh) of a high-priest and of any good work of each one of the five periods of the day and night; the reward and advantage owing to celebrating the ceremony of each of them separately in its own period, and also other means and regulations in the same statement.

39. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

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#### CHAPTER XLIV.

1. The Vendîdâd<sup>2</sup> contains particulars of Aûhar-mazd having produced the pleasure of mankind by

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<sup>1</sup> Whereby the devotions are disturbed, or rendered ineffectual.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding to the nineteenth word, drigubyô, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the twentieth Nask in other Rivâyats. In the Dînkard its name is semi-Zvâris, either Gvîd-shêdâ-dâd or Vîk-shêdâ-dâd, the Av. dâta vîda êva, ‘law opposed to the demons.’ In the Rivâyats it is called Gud-dêv-dâd, Vendîdâd, or Vîndâd, and is stated to consist of twenty-two kardah, or fargârd, the number it still contains. It is generally considered that the Vendîdâd now extant is a collection of frag-

that place where they specially make a residence, and the advantage from the same production<sup>1</sup>. 2. About the formation of sixteen perfect places specially enumerated, *and* also the adversity which has happened to each separately<sup>2</sup>.

3. About Aûharmazd's disclosing the religion first among mankind to Yim<sup>3</sup>; *its* non-acceptance by Yim owing to attachment (*asrûnöfh*) to the religion of the ancients; *and* the acceptance of other things to develope, extend, and improve the world thereby<sup>4</sup>. 4. About the reason of the needfulness of making the enclosure that Yim made (*var-i Yim kard*), the command *and* instruction by Aûharmazd to Yim, the making by Yim just as Aûharmazd commanded *and* instructed, *and* whatever is on the same subject<sup>5</sup>.

5. About what the comfort of the spirit of the earth is most owing to, what *its* discomfort is more particularly owing to, and from what *its* greatest gratification *has* arisen<sup>6</sup>.

6. About the sin of pollution owing to carrying a corpse by a single person, *relating*, however, to that which a dog *has* not seen<sup>7</sup>. 7. About the food,

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ments, but it is evident, from the close correspondence between the author's description and the present contents, that this fragmentary state of the text existed in his time; and there is every probability that any mutilation that exists in the text occurred before Sasanian times. The author, however, sometimes omits to mention subjects that are repeated, so it is just possible that some of these repetitions are of later date. He also makes no allusion to the twelfth fargard (see § 51 n).

<sup>1</sup> Vend. I, 1, 2 (W.).

<sup>2</sup> Vend. I, 3-20.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XIII, 6-8.

<sup>4</sup> Vend. II, 1-19.

<sup>5</sup> Vend. II, 22-43.

<sup>6</sup> Vend. III, 1-13, 22, 23, 34.

<sup>7</sup> Vend. III, 14; the latter clause referring to the commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 48 (Sp.).

clothing, and place of *him* who becomes polluted and worthy of death through a corpse, on account of carrying *it* alone (aēvakō-barīh rāī)<sup>1</sup>. 8. About how the several precautions of mankind *and* other pure creatures are *taken*, as regards a corpse<sup>2</sup> which has become polluted by another corpse<sup>3</sup>.

9. About the pleasure of the spirit of the earth owing to sowing *and* tilling, *and its* vexation owing to not sowing *and* not tilling; the blessing upon the sowers, *and* the advantage *and* merit owing to sowing, on account of particulars about the nourishment and protection *of* the religion thereby<sup>4</sup>. 10. About the destruction of the demons *which* arises from the sprouting, growing, *and* ripening of corn; *and* the good success of mankind from the eating of *it*<sup>5</sup>.

11. About the sin of burying a corpse through sinfulness, *and for* how much time is the uselessness *of* the ground in which the burial may be performed<sup>6</sup>.

12. About the power of the good religion for wiping away sin from human beings<sup>7</sup>.

13. About the sin of deceiving *by* an avaricious person (pastō) as regards *what he has* consumed and given, and the grievousness of other breaches of promise; the danger, even in the worldly *existence*, from maintaining him, *and* the retribution *it is important* for him to make<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vend. III, 15-19.

<sup>2</sup> The person polluted in this manner being considered as unclean as the corpse itself.

<sup>3</sup> Vend. III, 20, 21 and perhaps some commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 71 (Sp.) now lost.

<sup>4</sup> Vend. III, 23-31.

<sup>5</sup> Vend. III, 32, 33.

<sup>6</sup> Vend. III, 36-40.

<sup>7</sup> Vend. III, 41, 42.

<sup>8</sup> Vend. IV, 1-16.

14. About where *there is* steadfastness in the religion *there is* also a manifestation of this : when *one* becomes liberal—as to every benefit that exists for him—towards those of the same religion who come forward with a request<sup>1</sup>. 15. About the extent of sleeping in the day and night, *and* other matters as to occupation *which* occurs daily<sup>2</sup>.

16. About the grievous sinfulness of *having* taken a false oath, so that, apart even from the testifying retribution of the property, the oath taken thereon *has* also an efficacy very much for the accusers, which, on account of Mitrô<sup>3</sup>, Srôsh, and Rashnû, is an awful destroyer *and* adversary for one's own person, wife, child, and property; *also* the grievous bridge-judgment which is an appendage to one's own soul<sup>4</sup>.

17. About the sin of bringing firewood, with *which* dead matter<sup>5</sup> is mingled, to a fire; *and* this too, that is, how *and* when one is innocent therein<sup>6</sup>.

18. About a ditch (*gôî*), which is not always a stream (*nâvö*), when the water *has* to pass through it, and also that which is always a stream, when *one* wants to increase the water therein, how often *and* how *one*

<sup>1</sup> Vend. IV, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Vend. IV, 45.

<sup>3</sup> Av. Mithrô, the angel of the sun's light, friendly to man, and, hence, insisting upon the fulfilment of every promise (mithrô). He is supposed to keep an account of all breaches of promise (see Dd. XIV, 3), and to mediate between the departed soul and its accusers (see Mkh. II, 118), in doing which he co-operates with the angels of obedience (Srôsh, see Chap. IX, 3 n) and justice (Rashnû, see Chap. XX, 153 n) who estimate and weigh its good works and sins, and decide upon its fate at the bridge of judgment.

<sup>4</sup> Vend. IV, 46, 50-55.

<sup>5</sup> See Chap. XXVII, 4 n.

<sup>6</sup> Vend. V, 1-4.

*has to inspect them for fear of dead matter having been there*<sup>1</sup>.

19. About death which is by reason of water *or* fire, *and* does not occur through the supremacy of water *or* fire, but is owing to the demons<sup>2</sup>. 20. About the great advantage owing to rain, *and connected* with raining on dead matter and the bodily refuse<sup>3</sup> of depositaries *for the dead*<sup>4</sup>. 21. About the greatness and goodness of ‘the law opposed to the demons’<sup>5</sup> for cleansing, as compared with other utterances<sup>6</sup>.

22. About pollution owing to bodily contact (*hamkerpakih*) with a corpse, and *to* bodily contact with him who is in bodily contact with a corpse<sup>7</sup>. 23. About the wicked villain *who is* an unrighteous apostate alive, and abstaining from association (*avâkîh*) *with him*<sup>8</sup>. 24. About how long is the time of pollution of a house in which a dog or human being passes away, the carrying away theretofore of anything going thereto, *and* the avoidance of *it*; the place into which any one goes out, the feeding, *and* other things in that house within three steps, *and* whatever is on the same subject<sup>9</sup>. 25. About a woman *whose* child dies in the womb, *and* which becomes dead matter; *and* whatever is on the same subject<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vend. V, 5-7; but the last clause refers to a Pahlavi commentary found only in the manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> Vend. V, 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XIX, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Vend. V, 15-20.

<sup>5</sup> The Vendîdâd itself, see § 1 n.

<sup>6</sup> Vend. V, 22-25.

<sup>7</sup> Vend. V, 27-34.

<sup>8</sup> Vend. V, 35-38.

<sup>9</sup> Vend. V, 39-44 (W.), and commentary on Pahl. Vend. V, 134 (Sp.).

<sup>10</sup> Vend. V, 45-56.

26. About useless and polluted clothing, that which is cleansed for six months<sup>1</sup>. 27. About the grievous sinfulness of irregularly letting forth clothing, as much as a single double hem<sup>2</sup>, upon a corpse<sup>3</sup>.

28. About how long is the time of the uncultivated state of the land—*free* from admitting water and *being* sown—on which a human being or a dog passes away; the inspection of the whole land on account of the risk of dead matter *having* been there, and afterwards admitting water upon it; the sin when, through not exploring, dead matter is that place, and the water comes on to it; as whatever is on the same subject<sup>4</sup>.

29. About how to bring a corpse out of the water, the extent of the pollution of the water around the corpse, the purity after bringing away the corpse from it, and whatever is on the same subject<sup>5</sup>. 30. About where the bodies and bones of the departed are deposited, and whatever is on the same subject<sup>6</sup>.

31. About how soon is the rushing of the fiend corruption (*nasūs drûgô*) upon a human being, a dog that has passed away at the appointed time, and upon one who has done so before the appointed time through the defectiveness (*âhûgagîh*) of the worldly existence; where the clothing of this one which is useless, and which and how is the washin-

<sup>1</sup> Av. khshvas mæunghô; Vend. V, 57-59 (W.), and commentary on Pahl. Vend. V, 167 (Sp.).

<sup>2</sup> Pâz. dhôvana which is here assumed to be equivalent to Pedô bun. It is probably a reading of the Pahlavi word 𐭩 or 𐭪 Pahl. Vend. V, 169, 172, which has been variously read as *gûgë* ‘a dirham,’ *dûkô*, ‘a spindle,’ or *yûkô*, ‘a rag;’ the last of which would best suit the context here.

<sup>3</sup> Vend. V, 60-62.

<sup>5</sup> Vend. VI, 26-41.

<sup>4</sup> Vend. VI, 1-9.

<sup>6</sup> Vend. VI, 44-51.

of that which is for washing<sup>1</sup>. 32. About the heinous pollution and grievous sinfulness of devouring dead matter, or of bringing it to fire or water through sinfulness<sup>2</sup>. 33. About the winter, the demon-produced terror, the spider and locust<sup>3</sup>, sickness of many kinds, and much other evil, which become threatening in the world owing to the formation of dead matter<sup>4</sup>. 34. About how to cleanse wood, corn, and fodder from the dead matter which comes upon it<sup>5</sup>.

35. About medical treatment with spells, the knife, and herbs; how to test a medical man, the fee for curing, and whatever is on the same sub-

<sup>1</sup> Vend. VII, 1-5, 10-16. Nothing is said about VII, 6-9, 17-22 (which passages are merely a repetition of V, 27-30, 57-62), but this omission may be owing to the fact that these passages are so abbreviated in the MSS. as to be easily overlooked, especially by a reader of the Pahlavi version only.

<sup>2</sup> Vend. VII, 23-26.

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. tanand va-mâk (=mêg), evidently equivalent to the Av. sūnô madhakhayazuska of Vend. VII, 26, which are rendered by tûn mēgō-k in the Pahlavi version. The identity of Av. madhakha with Pahl. madag, or mêg, Pers. mañg, mala'z 'a locust,' has long been recognised (see Darmesteter's Études Iraniennes, II, p. 199). But the meaning of Av. sûn = Pâz. tûn has been merely guessed to be 'a mosquito;' the Avesta word having been transcribed as sîn, or sin, in the prose Sad-dar, LXXII, 2, and explained by the Persian gloss pasah, 'a gnat or fly,' by some copyists, while others have read san (for sin) and have substituted its synonym sâl, 'a year,' or have read bîs, 'a poisonous herb,' instead of pasah. With regard to the word 𐭩𐭪 tanand, 'spider,' in our text, it may be observed that it has descended from a much older copy of the Pahlavi Vendîdâd than any that could have been consulted by the author of the Sad-dar, and it is easy to see how an original Pahl. 𐭩𐭪 could have been read 𐭩𐭪 in Pâzand by later copyists of the Vendîdâd.

<sup>4</sup> Vend. VII, 26, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Vend. VII, 28-35.

ject<sup>1</sup>. 36. About the place on which a corpse is fettered (*garovî-aîtö*), *and* also that in which it is buried through sinfulness; *and* in how much time it becomes pure, *in each case separately*<sup>2</sup>. 37. About the much lodgment of the demons there where a corpse is buried (*nikân*), *and* the merit of laying open (*âskârînîdanö*) the *place of burial* (*nikânh*) of a corpse<sup>3</sup>.

38. About the duration of not drinking *by* a woman who *has* miscarried (*visistakö*); also *her* not feeding on the liquid of that which is watery food<sup>4</sup>. 39. About the washing of a metallic, stony, *or* any other cup-like article, upon which dead matter *has* come, *and which* is not pronounced useless<sup>5</sup>. 40. About the animal (*gôspend*) that *has* eaten dead matter, *and* the plant with which dead matter is mingled<sup>6</sup>. 41. About the sin of holy water *being* brought to water *which is tainted* with dead matter<sup>7</sup>.

42. About the house (*khânö*) in which a dog or a human being passes away<sup>8</sup>. 43. About how large *and* how *one has* to make the vault (*kadakö*) for the sake of a corpse in a dwelling (*mân*), carrying the corpse to it, when the time comes to expose *and* avoid it, *and whatever* is on the same subject<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vend. VII, 36-44.

<sup>2</sup> Vend. VII, 45-50.

<sup>3</sup> Vend. VII, 51, 52, 55-59, which refers to tombs and mausoleums (*uzdaêza uzdista*) and not to the legal dakhmas, or depositaries for the dead. §§ 51, 52 are described after the others.

<sup>4</sup> Vend. VII, 60, 67-71. The contents of VII, 61-66 are not mentioned, being abbreviated in the MSS. as a repetition of V, 46-51.

<sup>5</sup> Vend. VII, 73-75.

<sup>6</sup> Vend. VII, 76, 77, where, however, plants are not mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> Vend. VII, 78, 79.

<sup>8</sup> Vend. VIII, 1-3.

<sup>9</sup> Vend. VIII, 4-25.

44. About the baseness (*garas*)<sup>1</sup> and grievous sinfulness of the decree (*vigirih*)<sup>1</sup> of death, unnatural intercourse<sup>2</sup>. 45. About a dry corpse which *has been* dead throughout a year<sup>3</sup>. 46. About the merit of *having* brought unto purity a corpse-burning fire, a fire burning bodily refuse, or of an encampment (*sarây-i kô*)<sup>4</sup>; also those *which* artificers, each separately, keep in use *one has* to secure, *when* the work is done, for the appointed fireplace (*dâd-gâs*)<sup>5</sup>.

47. About washing the polluted who *have been* in bodily contact with a corpse, or moving it; divers preferences *as to* the purifier, the rite of washing, and the reward of purifiers, worldly and also spiritual<sup>6</sup>. 48. About the shining of the sun, moon, and stars alike discontentedly upon the polluted<sup>7</sup>. 49. About the gratification of all the creatures of Aûharmazd by the purifier, when he produces purification for the polluted and suchlike beings (*ânguni-aîtöân*); also his reward<sup>8</sup>. 50. About the strength and aid which are given to the fiend of corruption (*nasûs drûgô*) by him who does not understand purifying, and yet would accomplish it; also the sin thereof at the bridge of judgment<sup>9</sup>. 51. About the triumph of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô<sup>10</sup> in smiting the fiend and in healing<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Both these words are blotted and doubtful in the original M.S.

<sup>2</sup> Vend. VIII, 31, 32.      <sup>3</sup> Vend. VIII, 33, 34.

<sup>4</sup> Or it may be *sar aspô*, 'a troop of horse.'

<sup>5</sup> Vend. VIII, 73-96.      <sup>6</sup> Vend. VIII, 35-72, 97-107, IX, 1-39.

<sup>7</sup> Vend. IX, 41.      <sup>8</sup> Vend. IX, 42-44.      <sup>9</sup> Vend. IX, 47-57.

<sup>10</sup> The Ahunavair formula is so called from its first three words (see Chap. I, 7 n.).

<sup>11</sup> Vend. IX, 45, 46, X, 1-20, XI, 1-20 may probably be all alluded to in these few words; but nothing is said about the twelfth fargard. This omission is singularly in accordance with the fact

52. About the species of dogs; the worthiness of the shepherd's dog, the village dog, and others also; how to maintain *and* nourish (*srayinidan*) *them with* nourishment, *and* the sin owing to killing *or* even improperly maintaining them, each separately; *and* whatever is on the same subject<sup>1</sup>. 53. And this, too, when a dog becomes useless (*abon*) *or* hurtful, what is to be done with *it*, *and* how *it is* to be kept<sup>2</sup>. 54. About authorisedly killing the dog-wolf<sup>3</sup>. 55. About the thirty-one dispositions among dogs, which are just as among the three special professions *and* divers others *of* five descriptions<sup>4</sup>. 56. About the grievous sinfulness of killing a water beaver, and statements (*gokan*) of the penalty<sup>5</sup>.

57. About the sin which gave an Irâanian to foreigners (*an-Airân*)<sup>6</sup>. 58. About the sin for those three<sup>7</sup> males *who have* debauched a woman

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that the same fargard is omitted in all very old copies of the Vendîdâd with Pahlavi version, in which, although the fargards are numbered, the thirteenth immediately follows the eleventh. The Kopenhagen MS. No. 2, in which the twelfth fargard occurs with a Pahlavi version, is said to be a revision of the Vendîdâd text compiled in the last century, and other copies of the Pahlavi twelfth fargard have been derived from this revised text. The omission of this fargard in all the old MSS. cannot be satisfactorily attributed to the loss of some folios in an older copy, because no fargard is likely to fill exactly a certain number of folios; the loss must also have occurred very shortly after the last revision of the Pahlavi text, to account for the author of the Dînkard not finding the Pahlavi of this fargard in the ninth century.

<sup>1</sup> Vend. XIII, 1-28.      <sup>2</sup> Vend. XIII, 29-38.

<sup>3</sup> Vend. XIII, 41-43.

<sup>4</sup> Vend. XIII, 44-48 which detail the thirty-one particulars in which dogs resemble people of eight avocations, three of which are the professions of priests, warriors, and husbandmen.

<sup>5</sup> Vend. XIII, 50-56, XIV, 1-18.      <sup>6</sup> Vend. XV, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Reading *val zak* 3, but it may be *val zâk-aê*, 'for the other.'

who is pregnant, *or* the wife *with* a child at the breast, *or* a daughter of others; *and* the sin owing to similar sin<sup>1</sup>. 59. About the guardianship and nourishment which *it* is important to provide *for* a child that is seen *to be* improperly protected, *or for* a dog when it is born without a guardian; *and* whatever is on the same subject<sup>2</sup>.

60. About menstruation, the heinousness of its pollution, and how much *one has* to abstain from it<sup>3</sup>.

61. The cleansing from the menses, the time of the cleansing, *and* the nature of the cleansing of any person *or* thing polluted by the menses, *or* that which becomes inefficient *thereby*; *and* whatever is on the same subject<sup>4</sup>. 62. And about the grievous sinfulness of having sexual intercourse with a menstrual woman<sup>5</sup>.

63. About the deadly bridge *penalty* of those *who have* not sustained the judges<sup>6</sup>. 64. About the care of the hair and nails, *and* the sin owing to want of care<sup>7</sup>.

65. About the apostasy of *him* who is bringing a mouth-veil<sup>8</sup>, a vermin-killer<sup>9</sup>, various sacred twigs<sup>10</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Vend. XV, 8-16.

<sup>2</sup> Vend. XV, 17-45, though the last clause may include the remainder of this fargard.

<sup>3</sup> Vend. XVI, 1-7, 13-16, also XV, 7.      <sup>4</sup> Vend. XVI, 7-12.

<sup>5</sup> Vend. XVI, 17.      <sup>6</sup> Vend. XVI, 18 = XVII, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Vend. XVII, 1-10.

<sup>8</sup> Pahl. padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm). It ‘consists of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire.’ (Haug’s Essays, p. 243, note 1.)

<sup>9</sup> Av. khrafstraghna, an implement for killing snakes and other noxious creatures; it may be made of any material, but a leathern whip is recommended.

<sup>10</sup> Av. baresman, a bundle of slender rods, formerly twigs of

or a goad or scourge<sup>1</sup> which is exceptional, and maintains that it is that which is necessary<sup>2</sup>. 66. About the disapproved one, and the bridge-judgment upon him, who sleeps on through the whole night, so as not to accomplish his proper duty<sup>3</sup>. 67. And the approval and reward of him who does not sleep over religious observances, so as to accomplish his proper duty<sup>4</sup>. 68. About the progress of secretly-advancing ruin (sēgō) through that exhibitor of evil religion who wears no sacred thread-girdle, and his not wearing it as it were by law<sup>5</sup>.

69. About the proper duty and great value of the Parôdarsh<sup>6</sup> bird, and the great good work that gives it a morsel of meat which is the size of its body, the liberalization of the primitive temperament<sup>7</sup> through righteousness for the righteous man<sup>8</sup>. 70. About the hurry of the fire for kindling for the untroubled watching of the night, and the merit owing to law-

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particular trees, but now thin metal wires, usually from five to thirty-three in number according to the nature of the ceremony. These rods are tied together by a central girdle, passing three times round them and knotted just like the sacred thread-girdle round the waist of a Parsi; but this girdle is formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together. The bundle, when properly purified, is laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, whence it is taken up by the officiating priest, to hold in his left hand during certain recitations.

<sup>1</sup> Av. astra and sraosha-karana, implements for scourging and punishing sinners and criminals.

<sup>2</sup> Vend. XVIII, 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> Vend. XVIII, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Vend. XVIII, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Vend. XVIII, 8-10.

<sup>6</sup> 'The foreseer' of the dawn, an epithet of the domestic cock.

<sup>7</sup> Pahl. rādīnīdanō-ī mūnak-ī kādmon.

<sup>8</sup> Vend. XVIII, 13-17, 23-26, 28, 29.

fully kindling it; also the blessing of the fire on mankind, when pleased and untroubled<sup>1</sup>.

71. About the four special sins by which the fiend<sup>2</sup> receives vigorous pregnancy, and the atonement for each separately<sup>3</sup>. 72. About the grievous sinfulness, trouble, lamentation (*navikih*), and harm that proceed from a courtezan; also the advantageousness of her destruction<sup>4</sup>. 73. About the retribution for the sin of having sexual intercourse with a menstrual woman<sup>5</sup>.

74. About the combat (*kûshisnô*) of the evil spirit with Zaratûst, the victory of Zaratûst therein, and whatever is on the same subject<sup>6</sup>. 75. About Zaratûst having enquired of Aûharmazd how, and by what means, one has to confound the evil spirit and other demons, and his reply<sup>7</sup>. 76. About the gratification of Vohûman, the archangel, owing to the washing and bringing back to use of polluted clothing; also praise unto Aûharmazd for his narrating the care of the clothing<sup>8</sup>.

77. About the reward which they give up to a human soul for the sake of kindness, and whereto and how is the attainment to exaltation of him who is given it<sup>9</sup>. 78. About the going of Vohûman to meet the souls of the righteous, the notification of their position, their announcement for reward, and the contented progress of the souls of the righteous to their [home]<sup>10</sup>, to the throne of Aûharmazd and

<sup>1</sup> Vend. XVIII, 18-22, 26, 27.

<sup>2</sup> The Av. drug is feminine.

<sup>4</sup> Vend. XVIII, 60-65.

<sup>6</sup> Vend. XIX, 1-10.

<sup>8</sup> Vend. XIX, 20-25.

<sup>10</sup> This word, mêhan (Av. maêthana), has been omitted by the

<sup>3</sup> Vend. XVIII, 30-59.

<sup>5</sup> Vend. XVIII, 66-76.

<sup>7</sup> Vend. XIX, 11-14.

<sup>9</sup> Vend. XIX, 27-30.

the archangels, which is made of gold<sup>1</sup>. 79. About the terror of the demons owing to the scent of the righteous, and the fear that arose *among* them owing to the birth of Zaratûst<sup>2</sup>.

80. About the great powerfulness of plants of a poisonous character<sup>3</sup> for the forcible<sup>4</sup> keeping away of much adversity; the production of entire species (*pûr sarâdakö*) of plants by Aûharmazd for the curing of the creatures from disease (*ayôyakîh*); the success of the Gôkerenô<sup>5</sup> plant—which is the white Hôm—in curing, as compared with other plants; and the diligence of Aîrmân<sup>6</sup> in the medical treatment of the world<sup>7</sup>.

81. Information about the ritual (*nîrang*) through which the violence of the fiend *was* minimized at the original creation; and the great powerfulness of the Aîrmân supplication<sup>8</sup>, the Ahunavair<sup>9</sup>, and other

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repairer of the manuscript, when noting, on his patch, the words he had cut out.

<sup>1</sup> Vend. XIX, 31, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Vend. XIX, 33, 43-47; no notice being taken of the invocatory passage 34-42.

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. bîs'kîhar, Av. viskithra.

<sup>4</sup> Reading *nîrûgik* which suits the context better than *nîrangik*, ‘ritualistic.’

<sup>5</sup> Av. gaokerena, a mythical tree, or plant, supposed to grow in the ocean, where it is guarded by ten enormous fish, and, at the time of the renovation of the universe, the elixir of immortality is expected to be prepared from its twigs mingled with the fat of a mythical ox (see Bd. IX, 6, XVII, 1-6, XXVII, 4, XXX, 25).

<sup>6</sup> Av. Airyaman, a spirit whose powers of healing, chiefly by spells, are celebrated in Vend. XXII; and who is invoked in Yas. LIV, a spell that concludes the recitation of the Gâthas.

<sup>7</sup> Vend. XX, 1-12.

<sup>8</sup> The Airyama-ishyô (Yas. LIV), or invocation of Airyaman, quoted in Vend. XX, 11, XXI, 20, XXII, 23.

<sup>9</sup> See Chap. I, 7 n.

Gâthic Avesta<sup>1</sup>, for restraining the demons from destroying the world of righteousness<sup>2</sup>.

82. It is righteousness *that* is perfect excellence. It is the excellence of righteousness *that* is perfect.

### CHAPTER XLV.

1. Of the three divisions of the Hâdôkht<sup>3</sup>, as it exists in its 133 sections, the first is *of* thirteen<sup>4</sup> sections, *and contains* particulars about the nature of the recital of the Ahunavair<sup>5</sup>, which is the spiritual benefit from chanting it aloud, and whatever is on the same subject<sup>6</sup>. 2. Advice about selecting *and*

<sup>1</sup> Yas. XLVI, 7 and XLIV, 16 b-e which are quoted after the other spells in each of the last three fargârs of the Vendîdâd.

<sup>2</sup> Vend. XXII, 1-25, XX, 13-15, XXI, 18-23, and probably the rest of XXI.

<sup>3</sup> Corresponding to the twentieth word, *dadad*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the twenty-first, and last, Nask in other Rivâyats. Its name occurs in the Avesta, in the form *hadha okhta*, and it is called Hâdukht in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained thirty kardah, or fargârs, which differs considerably from the number stated in this chapter. Yts. XXI, XXII are traditionally supposed to belong to the Hâdôkht, but there is hardly a trace of either of them in this chapter. Yt. XI is also distinguished by the same title.

<sup>4</sup> As the total of the 13 + 102 + 19 sections (mentioned in §§ 1, 11, 13) is 134, instead of 133, there must be an error in one of the four numbers given in the MS. This clerical error can hardly have been made in writing 19, and is unlikely in 102; but 133 may possibly stand for an original 134, though the writing of 13 instead of 12 is more probable. The Rivâyats give no assistance in settling this question, as they all divide this Nask into 30 kardah. On the whole, it will be safest to read 'twelve,' instead of 'thirteen,' until some better authority becomes available.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Yt. XI, 3.

<sup>6</sup> It is just possible that this may refer to Yt. XXI which, though specially alluding to the recitation of the Ashem-vohû, or praise of

keeping a spiritual and worldly high-priest, performing every duty as to the high-priest, *and* maintaining even those of various high-priests.

3. About the twenty-one chieftainships, spiritually through Aûharmazd and materially through Zaratûst, through which the ceremonial of the sacred beings *and* the government of the members of the community (*dâhmânö râyinîdârîh*) exist. 4. About the duties in the five periods<sup>1</sup> of the day and night, each separately, and the bridge-judgment of him who shouts out<sup>2</sup> in the ceremony of a season-festival<sup>3</sup>; *likewise* of him who does not provide the preparations for the feast of a season-festival, and who also becomes worried (*sûdakö*) in other ceremonials of the sacred beings.

5. About how to consider *and* what to do with a sacerdotal leader *and* a man of the superior classes (*pîsakîkânö*), him who atones for unimportant sin, and him who does not atone even for *that which is* important; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. About the means through which membership of the community (*dâhmîh*) is prepared. 7. About the manifestation of virtuous manhood, and the merit and advantage from well uttering the words of blessing at eating *and* drinking food *and* drink, and from despising the inward talk of the demons.

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righteousness, also mentions that of the Ahunavair in its § 4. With regard, however, to Yt. XXII, there seems no possibility of identifying its text with any portion of the Hâdôkht Nask as described in this chapter.

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XXIX, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *barâ drâyêdö*, but it may be *barâ girâyêdö*, ‘is zealous’.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. VII, 1.

8. About the recitations at the five periods *of the day*, the ceremonial invocation by name of many angels in each separately, *and* great information on the same subject.

9. The worthiness *of* a man restrained (*vandak*) by authority, the devotion of life and body to the sacred beings, the good rulers, and their examination and satisfaction; *also* the blessing and winning words which are most successful in carrying off the affliction that is owing to the fiend. 10. About all-pleasing creativeness and omniscience, every precedence<sup>1</sup>, leadership, foresight<sup>2</sup>, worthy liberality, perspicacity (*vēnākīh*), and all proper cause *and* effect of righteousness; the individuality (*khūdīh*) of righteousness, the opposition to the demons of Ātharmazd's law, and also much other information in the same section.

11. The middle *division* is of 102 sections containing particulars about spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership *of* the diligent and their mighty means, all the former deeds of righteousness. 12. Righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is provided by it for that which *one* mentions thus:—'It is the Hādōkht which is the maintenance of righteousness, so that it may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.'

13. The last *division* is of nineteen sections containing a trusty remedy, that is, a remedy whose utterance aloud by the faithful is a chief resource (*afzārtūm*) for the creatures of the sacred beings.

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that *pesāgīh* stands for *pēsagīh*.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming that *pes vōnākīh* stands for *pēs vēnākīh*.

14. Also the nature of sayings full of humility (pûr-pâstîh), well-favoured, most select, and adapted for that which *one* mentions thus:—‘I reverence that chief, the beneficent and eminent Hâdôkht, out of which is the sustainment of the strength of every word of Zaratûst they trust in.’

15. It is perfect excellence *that* is righteousness.

### CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The Gâthas of the Yast<sup>1</sup>, as the first offspring of the Ahunavair, are a recitation of the source of sources of the religion, and in the compass (parvastârih)<sup>2</sup> of the Gâthas, every word (mârik)

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding to the twenty-first word, vâstârem, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the first Nask in other Rivâyats. In Chap. I, 9, 12 it is called Stôd-yast, ‘praise-ritual,’ (Av. staota yêsyña); and Stûd-yast, or Yast, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contains thirty-three kardah, or jûrat. In Sls. XIII, 1 we are told that Visâi-ve-ameshâ-spentâ (Yas. XIV, 1) is the beginning of the Stôtân-yasnô; and, if we look for its end, we find Yas. LVIII, LIX both ending with special reverence of ‘the whole collection of the Stôtân-yasnân.’ We may therefore conclude that Yas. XIV-LIX, with its supplementary passages in Vîsp. V-XXIV, contains the whole of the Stôd-yast. But from this we must deduct Yas. XIX-XXI which are the first three fargards of the Bakô Nask, Yas. LII which is an interpolation, and Yas. LVI, LVII which are the Srôsh Yasts, lesser and greater; we must also consider the Yasna Haptanghâiti as a single section, in accordance with its treatment in Bk. IX, Chaps. XII, XXXV, LVII; and much of the Vîspêrad may not belong to the primitive text mentioned in § 3. Making these necessary deductions we have exactly thirty-three hâs of the Yasna left for the Stôd-yast, as stated in the Rivâyats.

<sup>2</sup> This word can also be read fravistârih (Av. fra+vid), ‘interpretation,’ or frôstârih, ‘handing down.’

in it is the origin of a word. 2. The word ahû<sup>1</sup> of the beginning<sup>2</sup> is of a like kind with ahyâ<sup>3</sup>, the beginning of the Gâthas; the end word, which is vâstârem<sup>4</sup>, is of a like kind with vahyô<sup>5</sup>, the end of the Gâthas; and the whole—which, though its nature is of one kind, is distributed (vakhtö) in what is selected therefrom—is stored up (avar-gûdö) in this compendium<sup>6</sup> of all parts of the Mazda-worshipping religion.

3. Likewise the purport (*avori-hastân*)<sup>7</sup> of its verse (gâh), and the particulars of the primitive Vîspêrad<sup>8</sup> are to procure homage and praise, oblation and invocation; and the blessing<sup>9</sup>, which is regulated by the sagacity of the creator, is adapted for the spiritual illustration of the lodgment of the ceremonial of the sacred beings therein. 4. All

<sup>1</sup> The Ahunavair begins with the words yathâ ahû vairyô. The word ahû, in the MS., is written ahî as usual in Irân.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming that barâ stands for bûn.

<sup>3</sup> The first Gâtha, or sacred hymn, begins with the words ahyâ yâsâ nemanghâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1 a). There is, of course, no connection but that of sound between ahû, 'a spiritual lord,' and ahyâ, 'of this;' nor is there any other between the concluding words vâstârem, 'a protector,' and vahyô, 'better,' though the phrases in which these latter occur are of a very similar character, which fully justifies the comparison made in the text.

<sup>4</sup> The Ahunavair ends with the words yim drigubyô dada dâstârem.

<sup>5</sup> The last Gâtha ends with the words yâ erezhegyôî dâhî drigaovê vahyô (Yas. LIII, 9 d).

<sup>6</sup> The Gâthas apparently.

<sup>7</sup> Or *avar-gâstân*, 'disseminations.'

<sup>8</sup> The Vîspêrad service consists of the Yasna ritual with certain additional passages intermixed, which passages are called the Vîspêrad because the earlier ones invoke 'all the chiefs' (vîspêratavô, Visp. II, 3) of creation.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly Yas. LV.

three are provisions for the first *and* last presentations<sup>1</sup> which *one* utters by means of the Stôd Yast.

5. It is perfect *is* the excellence of righteousness ; it is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness ; with the copy revised (râyînîdö).

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<sup>1</sup> Probably referring to Yas. XIV and LVIII.

## DINKARD.—BOOK IX.

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### CHAPTER I<sup>1</sup>.

1. Satisfaction (*shnôkhar*) to the creator Aûharmazd, and obeisance to the Mazda-worshipping religion.

2. The ninth book (*babâ*) is about the Hâs *and* Fargards<sup>2</sup> of the various Nasks; the object of procuring the division of those portions which exist *being* owing to the quantity of what is in each one of the Nasks; *also* an explanation of a suitable selection<sup>3</sup> therefrom, such as is an epitome (*nisangag-1*) of the abundant detail therein.

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### CHAPTER II.

#### *Sûdkar Nask.*

1. Glorification for the Mazda-worshipping religion *which is* the ordinance of Aûharmazd opposed to the demons.

2. Of the Sûdkar<sup>4</sup> there are twenty-two fargards,

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<sup>1</sup> From this point to Chap. XXXI, 17 the text is also found in a second MS. (K) which is independent of the MS. B brought to Surat in A.D. 1783, the original of all the Bombay copies.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 20, 23. The contents of these are detailed below, in Chaps. II—LXVIII, so far as the first three Nasks are concerned.

<sup>3</sup> Referring to Chap. LXIX.

<sup>4</sup> The first of the Nasks and second of the Gâthic division (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 9, 12). As the Stôd-yast (the first of the Gâthic

and the first fargard is the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô<sup>1</sup>, just as the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula is as it were the beginning (bûnih) of the religion, and from it is the formation of the Nasks which, though about the first six sciences (dânisnö), have also demonstrated the existence of the highest of other sciences in its own place.

3. And here it speaks about the power and success owing to uttering the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula<sup>2</sup> at the beginning of actions. 4. One utterance when one wishes to say anything to any one; one when he wishes to beg of any one; and one when he goes to work. 5. Two when he wishes to confer his blessing. 6. Four when it is for the homage of the chiefs of creation (radö-franâmisnîh), or the ceremony of a season-festival. 7. Five when it is for carrying off the fiend. 8. Six when it is for power; and six when it is for the success of a battle. 9. Seven when it is for the ceremonial of

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division, but the last of the general list of Nasks) contained the text of the Gâthas, so the next three of the Gâthic division contained commentaries, or homilies, upon that text, written with different objects in view. The purpose of the Sûdkar was apparently (as its name imports) to extract useful instruction from the text, and to illustrate it with legends and remarks. A separate fargard is devoted to each hâ of the Gâthas, beginning with the three sacred formulas, and including the united Yasna Haptang-hâiti and the Afryaman. The connection between the commentary and text, though usually traceable, is not always very clear; but that is a common characteristic of homilies in general.

<sup>1</sup> The Ahunavair (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7). This fargard explains the use made of this formula, and the benefits derived from it.

<sup>2</sup> As a spell, or appeal for success. The text of §§ 4-15 has been independently handed down by tradition, with a few variations, in Sls. XIX and the Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah.

the archangels, or when one wishes to perform the ceremonial of the archangels. 10. Eight when it is for the ceremonial of a guardian spirit of the righteous. 11. Nine when one wishes to cast seed into his land. 12. Ten when one wishes to allow procreation. 13. Eleven when one goes to ask for a wife. 14. Twelve when one expects to go up on a mountain. 15. Thirteen when one wishes to go to an inhabited district (*rûdastâk-1*); twelve<sup>1</sup> when he goes out pathless; and one<sup>2</sup> when he wishes to proceed by a ford through the water.

16. About the place where one has to utter the first Yathâ-ahû-vairyô for smiting the demons. 17. About the good results (*dahisnân*) of a suitable recital of the words of the Ahunavair, the summary of everything for Zarâtûst to utter. 18. And about the fact that, through chanting forth every single word of the Ahunavair with a virtuous intention, a demon is disabled, and there is protection of person and property from the adversary.

19. About the division of the twenty-one Nasks, likewise, according to the first, second, and third lines (*gâs*) of the Ahunavair<sup>3</sup>. 20. About the increase of the creatures owing to the liberal thought, word, and deed of a righteous person; owing to the priests having become numerous, and the reverence of him who is making them numerous; and owing to the perpetual meditation of righteousness and the existence of its recompense.

21. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

<sup>1</sup> Sls. XIX, 14 has 'thirteen.'

<sup>2</sup> So in both MSS., but *ewr* *ayôv*, 'or,' is more probable than *ewr* *aêvakô*, 'and one.'

<sup>3</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

CHAPTER III<sup>1</sup>.*Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The second fargard, Ashem-vohû<sup>2</sup>, is about the praise of righteousness which is the reward of the religion, and the want of praise at the bridge of judgment owing to enmity (patyânîh) to righteousness.

2. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The third fargard, Yênhê-hâtãm<sup>3</sup>, is about

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is omitted in K by mistake.

<sup>2</sup> This second sacred formula is recited by the Parsis even oftener than the Ahunavair, and consists of twelve Avesta words, as follows :—

Ashem vohû vahistem astî,  
ustâ astî; ustâ ahmâi  
hyad ashâi vahistâi ashem.

This may be translated as follows :—‘ Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing *be* to that which *is* righteousness to perfect rectitude.’

But the Pahlavi version explains it as follows :—‘ Righteousness is perfect excellence [righteousness of any excellence *is* good]. Happy is that righteousness and happy also that virtuous man who *is* a causer of righteousness, the righteousness that is perfect [that is, he shall accomplish duty and good works].’

<sup>3</sup> This third formula is chiefly recited at the end of most of the hâs in the Yasna, and consists of fifteen Avesta words, as follows :—

Yênhê hâtãm âad, yêsnê paitî, vanghô  
mazdaû ahurô vaêthâ, ashâd haâkâ,  
yaunghãmkâ, tâskâ tauškâ yazamaidê.

This may be translated as follows :—‘ Of whatever male of the

the formation of mankind by slow increase, and, when they live on *for* fifty<sup>1</sup> years, *their* slowly becoming dust; the coming of death even to him who is very pleasantly living, as regards mankind, at the climax (*barinö*) of his life; and the happiness of the worldly *existence* is given only to the worthy, on account of *their* love of righteousness; the rest are passed by<sup>2</sup>. 2. And also this, that he who is produced by the demons, *or* is proceeding to the

existences, therefore, Ahuramazda was better cognizant, through righteousness in worship, and of whatever females, both those males and those females we reverence.'

The Pahlavi version explains it as follows:—‘Whoever of those existing is thus in worship as regards a good *being* [that is, shall celebrate a ceremonial for that good *being* who is Aūharmazd the lord], Aūharmazd is aware of *it*, owing to the accompaniment of righteousness [*and being* acquainted with the reward and recompence of whatever are, severally, the duty and good works that any one has performed, he grants *them*]. I reverence those of the assembly, males and females [the archangels; because the male of them are good, and the female of them].’

The Pahlavi translator evidently read *vanghō* in the first line of the text, as printed above, and not in the second, as in the present MSS.

<sup>1</sup> So in K, but B has ‘seventy.’ The text seems to allude to the beginning of old age, of which three grades are mentioned in the Avesta (Vend. III, 19, 20): the *hanō*, *zaururō*, and *pairistā-khshudrō*. The Pahlavi version defines the age of each grade, but the ciphers given are corrupted in the MSS. extant. The Far. Oīm, p. 5, ll. 9, 10, gives fifty years as the age of the *zarmān* (Av. *zaururō*), seventy years as that of the *hān* (Av. *hanō*), and ninety years as that of the *pādīrānō-shūsar* (Av. *pairistā-khshudrō*); but whether this arrangement of the ages is compatible with the different order of these epithets in the Avesta is doubtful, though it shows that old age was considered to begin at the age of fifty years.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *sak̄-aītō* according to K, though the word can also be read *seḡ-aītō*, ‘are ruined;’ in B it can be read *gadāiḡ-aītō*, ‘are impoverished.’

demons, or has committed falsehood, is the opulent person who gives nothing to a worthy suppliant.

3. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The fourth fargard, Yânim-manô<sup>1</sup>, is about where a gradual development (*dér-zahîsnîh*) of that which is for the future existence is best; and, secondly, that which occurs now when the wisdom, instructed eloquence, diligence, and energetic effort, which are the utilizers of life, are with one, and these five misusers of it—greediness, want of energy, indolence, defilement, and illicit intercourse—are not with one. 2. This, too, that these five defects existed in Dahâk<sup>2</sup>, and owing to that, moreover, Frêdûn<sup>2</sup> is irritated with him, and smites him in revenge for Yim<sup>3</sup>.

3. About the heinousness of these four vices, which are drunkenness, knavish companionship, apostasy, and selfishness, and the grievous results therefrom. 4. And this, too, that Yim drove away these four vices from the world, and then was able to prepare immortality. 5. About avoidance of him who, through any statement, is producing a thief as an orator (*âkhûn*), and of acquiescence with a hasty unoratorical statement of a companion. 6. And this, too, that he who propagates very evil commands in the world gives stout-heartedness to the fiend.

<sup>1</sup> The first two words of the introduction to the first Gâtha (Yas. XXVIII, o), here written yânîmanôkô in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. § 6.

7. About the clamour of a poor distressed *one* for a perfect remedy, and the repelling derangement (lakhvâr-pafshîrisnîh), unacceptableness, unblessedness, and want of Gâtha lore of the distresser arisen from the clamour of the distressed *one*. 8. About the connection of satisfying distress on true and reasonable complaint, and the reasonable complaining of true complainers, by him who has been an inferior judge, and gradually up to the highest adjudicator who is Aûharmazd.

9. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

## CHAPTER VI.

### Sûdkar Nask.

1. The fifth fargard, Khshmaibyâ<sup>1</sup>, is about the forgetfulness of a father for a son, a son for a father, a brother for a brother, a friend for a friend, a husband (mânpatô) for a wife (nârik), and a wife for a husband in a measurable time, through excess and festivity (khang); and the unforgettableness of the spirit of the Gâthas for so many reciters and chanters of the Gâthas. 2. About the complaint of the spirit of the Gâthas when a high-priest, although priest of the country-folk (dehîgânö), passes away in an out-district<sup>2</sup>, and the body of that man does not come back to his own land; whatever is relating to that, and, besides that, what is to be born in that

<sup>1</sup> The first word of the second hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXIX, 1), here written khshmôâibê (B) and khshmâibê (K) in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> Reading aûzدêhîkîh (from Av. uzdažvyu); in Sls. IX, 2, 3, where this passage is evidently referred to, this word has been erroneously read aûzدâyakîh and translated 'idolatry,'

land, and the oppressiveness of apostates *which* arises. 3. About the superior power of the spirit of the Gâthas, *and* also that of liberality, in preserving the soul from hell.

4. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The sixth fargard, *Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ*<sup>1</sup>, is about the perfection of the five excellences: the first through righteousness, the second through virtuous offspring, the third through land producing vegetation, the fourth through flocks of sheep, and the fifth through training in industry. 2. About the distribution of fortune to the diligent; and of destitution to the indolent. 3. About the acquirement of fortune singly sitting, two-fold even walking, three-fold hastening, four-fold even running, five-fold even carrying on a horse, six-fold even driving on a road, seven-fold by understanding legal proceedings, eight-fold by good protection even of wealth, nine-fold by intelligence *and* diligence in the cultivation of land, and ten-fold by providing the teaching of the bounteous texts<sup>2</sup>.

4. About the grievous sorrow *of* an aged man, owing to the indolence of any one in youth. 5. About the four things through which, when a man has

<sup>1</sup> The first three words of the third hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXX, 1), here written atô-tâ-vakhshiyâ (B) and atâ-vakhshâ (K) in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> The liturgy (*mânsar-spend*).

amassed *them* in his youth, he becomes very pleased in old age: first, virtuous learning; second, productive wealth; third, a good wife; *and* fourth, a prosperous dwelling. 6. About the five store-holders<sup>1</sup> of perfect excellence: industry, diligence, contentment, guileless understanding (*nîrikht-hûshîh*), and provision of means.

7. About abstaining from sitting with drunkards. 8. And this, too, that he does not drink varieties of wine (*mâê-gunagânö*) with the approval of the sacred beings, who becomes a viciously-disposed assailant and annoyer of others, and a disturber (*képînîdâr*) of duties, through drinking varieties of wine. 9. And this, too, that thou shouldst eat that which is your food where *there is* a suitable place. 10. And where *it is* eaten by thee it should be lightly, it should not be heavily, so that, when *it is* eaten by thee, a good work is performed, and *there is* abstinence from sin. 11. And, so that what thou eatest shall be immortally joyful to thee, where *there are* poor, provide *them* a share, and the poor will bless thee; and, *as to* a poor man who is righteous, the opinion is *that* his blessing is best.

12. Excellence *that* is perfect is righteousness.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### *Sûdkar Nask.*

I. The seventh fargard, *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ*<sup>2</sup>, is about

<sup>1</sup> Reading *gang-dânö*; or it may be *dûzagânö*, ‘seals,’ though this is less likely, as a plural form is rarely used with a numeral.

<sup>2</sup> The first three words of the fourth hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXXI, 1), here written *tâ-va-ratö* in Pahlavi in both MSS.

the exhibition to Zarātūst of the nature of the four periods in the millennium of Zarātūst<sup>1</sup>. 2. First, the golden, that in which Aūharmazd displayed the religion to Zarātūst. 3. Second, the silver, that in which Vistāsp<sup>2</sup> received the religion from Zarātūst. 4. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Ātūrpād<sup>3</sup> son of Māraspend, was born. 5. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate and other villains, as regards the destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness and virtue, and the disappearance of honour and wisdom from the countries of Irān. 6. In the same period is an account of the many perplexities and torments (zakhāmī-hastanō) of the period for that desire of the life of the good which subsists in seemliness.

7. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

## CHAPTER IX.

### *Sūdkar Nask.*

1. The eighth fargard, *Hvaētumaiti*<sup>4</sup>, is about the abstinence of mankind, for special propitiation, from being unreliant upon religion, on account of reverence for the evil spirit<sup>5</sup>; that from the habit of

<sup>1</sup> Compare Yas. XXXI, 14; Byt. I, 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 22.

<sup>4</sup> The appellation of the fifth hā of the first Gātha (Yas. XXXII) which begins with the words *aḥvya kā hvaētus*; it is here written khvatamaītō in Pahlavi in both MSS.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Yas. XXXII, 3.

*being* ungirdled, on account of reverence for Andar<sup>1</sup> and that for Sôvar<sup>2</sup>; that from walking with one boot<sup>3</sup>, on account of reverence for Tâûrvô and Zârikô<sup>4</sup>; that from being harmfully inquisitorial, on account of reverence for Akatâsh<sup>5</sup>; and that from the habit of *being* without a serpent-scourge, on account of reverence for all the demons<sup>6</sup>.

2. About the hungry intention (*gusnakö-minisnîh*) of him who eats<sup>7</sup> and drinks chattering; the delight of the demons on that account; and advice as regards not speaking a word during eating and drinking. 3. As to the praise and gratification of the sacred beings before eating and drinking,

<sup>1</sup> Av. *Andra*, or *Indra*; one of the arch-demons produced by the evil spirit, and the special opponent of the archangel Ashavahist; he seduces from virtue and opposes the use of the sacred shirt and girdle (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 8, 10, XXX, 29; Ep. I, x, 9; Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Av. *Sauru*; another of the arch-demons and the special opponent of the archangel Shatvâîrô; he encourages anarchy and drunkenness, and opposes the use of the sacred shirt and girdle (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 9, 10, XXX, 29; Ep. I, x, 9).

<sup>3</sup> Probably equivalent to ‘walking in stockings,’ though some think it means ‘walking barefoot.’ It is sinful on account of the risk of pollution from stepping on impurities.

<sup>4</sup> Av. *Tauru* and *Zairika*; two more of the arch-demons and the special opponents of the archangels Khûrdad and Amûrdad; they produce and diffuse poison, and are propitiated by walking with one boot (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 11, 13, XXX, 29; Ep. I, x, 9).

<sup>5</sup> Av. *Akatasha*; ‘the fiend of inquisitiveness, who makes the creatures look away from proper things’ (Bd. XXVIII, 20), and appears to be closely connected with the demon Aeshm, ‘wrath.’

<sup>6</sup> See Bd. XXVIII, 21, 22, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XVIII, 2.

<sup>7</sup> B omits ‘eats.’ Talking during eating is sinful because the eater has muttered an inward prayer, as a protective spell, the good effect of which would be destroyed by speaking aloud (compare Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIII, 37).

and also on finishing; and the purity<sup>1</sup> of the mouth owing to its praise of righteousness<sup>2</sup>. 4. About him whose ownership of any good work, that they<sup>3</sup> may perform, does not attain to the best existence, on account of not possessing a high-priest by habit.

5. About the period of the ceremonial of Srôsh<sup>4</sup>, the righteous, *being* mostly on the passing away of the first half of the night, and the announcement<sup>5</sup> of him who is the celebrator (*yastâr*) is for his protection from the fiend spirit. 6. The period of the ceremonial of Rashnû<sup>6</sup> and Âstâd<sup>7</sup> is mostly after that, in the jurisdiction (*radîh*) of the Aûshahîn<sup>8</sup>, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is abundance of grain. 7. The period of the ceremonial of Mitrô<sup>9</sup> of the wide cattle-pastures, and of the spirit of the pleasure of eating<sup>10</sup>, is mostly in the

<sup>1</sup> K has ‘protection.’

<sup>2</sup> That is, its muttering the Ashem-vohû formula which is recited thrice, as a conclusion of the inward prayer (see Dd. LXXIX, 1 n).

<sup>3</sup> Or it may be ‘he,’ as the optative 3rd plural is often used for the singular; but it is a doctrine of the religion that a person who causes good works to be done by others, as he does when he employs a priest to perform ceremonies, is as much the owner of the good works as the actual performer is (see Sl. X, 22, 23 for cases of less direct agency).

<sup>4</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chaps. IX, 3, XLIV, 16, and Pahl. Yas. I, 22.

<sup>5</sup> As an offering, referring to the verb *nivaêdhayêmi*, ‘I announce or invite,’ with which most of the clauses of Yas. I. commence.

<sup>6</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XX, 153, and Pahl. Yas. I, 23.

<sup>7</sup> Av. Arstâd, ‘rectitude,’ a female angel who assists the soul on its way to the other world (see AV. V, 3).

<sup>8</sup> The period from midnight till dawn (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 9).

<sup>9</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

<sup>10</sup> Av. râma *hvâstrem*, Pahl. râmisnô khvârôm, who cooperates with Mitrô (see Pahl. Yas. I, 9).

jurisdiction of the Hâvan<sup>1</sup>, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is a flock of sheep. 8. The period of the ceremonial of Ashavahist<sup>2</sup>, and also of the fire of Aûharmazd, is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Rapithwin<sup>3</sup>, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is an assemblage of righteousness. 9. The period of the ceremonial of the lofty lord of females, the descendant of waters<sup>4</sup>, and also of the water created by Aûharmazd, is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Aûzâerin<sup>5</sup>, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is a troop of heroes (*vîrân ramakô*). 10. And the period of the ceremonial of the guardian spirits of the righteous, of the females with troops of heroes and years of pleasant dwelling, of the might which is well-formed and handsome, as well as victorious and created by Aûharmazd, and of the fighting which is in the ascendant<sup>6</sup>, is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Aiwisrûthrim<sup>7</sup>, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is the origin of all excel-

<sup>1</sup> The period from dawn till noon, and in winter it extends into the afternoon (see Bd. XXV, 9-14).

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14, and Pahl. Yas. I, 12.

<sup>3</sup> The afternoon till 3 p.m. during summer (see Bd. XXV, 9-14). Here written Rapisvag.

<sup>4</sup> Av. *berezatô ahurahê nafedhrô apäm*, Pahl. *bûr'zand khûdât nekedân-i ûvânô nâpô* (see Pahl. Yas. I, 15).

<sup>5</sup> The evening from the middle of the afternoon till dusk (see Bd. XXV, 9; Sls. XXI, 4-7).

<sup>6</sup> See Pahl. Yas. I, 18, 19.

<sup>7</sup> The period from dusk till midnight; here written *ayîvîk-srûksrîm*. It will be noticed that the periods for the ceremonials of the beings here detailed correspond with those with which their names are connected in Yas. I, 3-7, II, 3-7, III, 5-9, IV, 8-12, VI, 2-6, VII, 5-9 (W.).

lence, and the produce of all manifestation of righteousness.

### 11. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

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## CHAPTER X.

### *Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The ninth fargard, Yathâis<sup>1</sup>, is about the devilry, the blighted destiny, the complete pollution, the grievous stench, the heinous sinfulness, and the annoyance to all spiritual and worldly virtue of the sodomite. 2. The atonement for grievous sinfulness and the appropriation of great good works by him who is a molester, and the awful sinfulness of him who is a propitiator, of that sinner. 3. Of the seven one mentions as evil, who are accounted equal to the evil spirit in vileness—such as *Az-i Dahâk*<sup>2</sup> in witchcraft, the serpent Srôbar in violence, *Vadak*<sup>3</sup> in producing evil progeny<sup>4</sup>, *Tûr-i Brâdar-vakhsh* in destroying a righteous man, and an apostate<sup>5</sup> in grievous sinfulness—the permitter and performer of

<sup>1</sup> The first word of the sixth hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXXIII, 1), here written yâsâîs in Pahlavi in both MSS.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XIII, 8, XXXV, 13, and Dd. LXXII, 2–9, which last chapter contains further details regarding these seven heinous sinners, probably derived from the actual text of this ninth fargard of the Sûdkar Nask.

<sup>3</sup> The mother of Dahâk (Dd. LXXII, 5), the same as Udaî in Bd. XXXI, 6; for her viciousness see Dd. LXXVIII, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pahl. saryâ hûnö-dahakîh, which last word indicates an original Av. hunusta (see Pahl. Yas. L, 10 b).

<sup>5</sup> Both MSS. have Aharmanö, but this differs only in its last letter from aharmôk, ‘an apostate,’ which is the reading of Dd. LXXII, 9 and more suitable to the context.

unnatural intercourse are unique in heinous sinfulness.

4. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The tenth fargard, Yâ-shyaothanâ<sup>1</sup>, is about the complaint of the spirit of fires to Aûharmazd owing to seven descriptions of people. 2. First, owing to domestics considering *it* as contemptible and *in* an unresisting state (*agangîh*), molesting *it* immoderately, and making use of it with unwashed hands ; also the damsel who *has* introduced fire into the sole of *her* foot, and the bursting of the blister (*âvilag*) ; and a weapon brought out into *its* splendour. 3. Second, the complaint owing to the carriers of fire from that abode [where the provision of care for fire is as a law to them, to that abode]<sup>2</sup> where the provision of care for fire is not as a law to them. 4. And there, owing to the arrival and preparation of the demons, it lay stupefied, like a powerful youth *who is* feverish and in a languid state ; and its cure from that sickness (*ayôyakîh*) was by bringing forward to it their pure sandal-wood, or benzoin, or aloe-wood, or pomegranate<sup>3</sup>, or

<sup>1</sup> The first two words of the seventh, and last, hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXXIV, 1), here written yâ-shyâôsnô in Pahlavi in both MSS. This fargard may perhaps be considered as a homily upon Yas. XXXIV, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The words in brackets are omitted in B by mistake.

<sup>3</sup> The traditional equivalents of the four sweet-scented vegetable substances, Av. urvâsna, vohû-gaona, vohû-kereti, and hadhâ-naêpata, which are mentioned in Vend. VIII, 2, 79, IX, 32, XIV, 3,

whatever there was of the most odoriferous of plants.

5. Third, the complaint owing to the hussy<sup>1</sup> unto whom it happens, through menstruation, *that* the stench and filth owing to the menstruation is brought to it (*the fire*) ; and *its* sickness and stupefaction owing thereto are as written above.

6. Fourth, the complaint owing to the hussy who, dropping *her* knee on to the fire-stand, arranged *her* curls ; the falling of damp and moisture from *her* head, with the hair and filth therefrom, into the fire ; the consumption of *it* discontentedly, *and* the sickness and stupefaction owing thereto.

7. Fifth, the complaint owing to the father, *or* guardian, of a child for not keeping the child away from the fire ; and the bodily refuse and other unlawfulness that come upon it from such children.

8. Sixth, the complaint owing to the adversity which the unpurified infidel (agdēnō) may bring upon it, by blowing the breath of *his* mouth upon it in directing *its* use, *and* it becomes incalculable.

9. Seventh, the complaint—which, *one* says, is more awful and more grievous—owing to those who use it as an ordeal for a falsehood, and, when it is made evident thereby as to the acquitted and convicted, they become of a different opinion about it.

10. At the place of complaint that which is polluted is put forward together with that which is pure, and the increase of it (*the fire*) is through lawful and unlawful operation ; *its* burning alone

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XVIII, 71 as acceptable fuel for the sacred fire, or scent for fumigation; their Pahlavi names are merely corruptions of these Avesta words.

<sup>1</sup> The word *gêh*, ‘courtezan,’ is used here and in § 6 merely as a general opprobrious term for a woman.

and increasing are such as when both would be as a necessity for it, and undesired and rapid burning and increasing<sup>1</sup> are those which are polluted by burning and insatiably consuming ; and in that which is an operation unlawfully—the burning alone and increasing *being* [such as when]<sup>2</sup> both would be as a necessity [for it]—the increase is troubled.

11. This, too, he<sup>3</sup> says : ‘I am not *of the world* here, and from here I *will* extricate *myself*, from the earth up to the sky ; I am also thy son<sup>4</sup>, more to thee<sup>5</sup> than any of the other creatures.’ 12. And Aûharmazd spoke to him thus : ‘So thou shouldst stand over the fire, in thy proper duty as [a spirit<sup>6</sup>], carrying that club ; [it is a substantial means, because I produce it, through which] thou turnest off [the whole bodily existence], some to the endless light, and some to the endless darkness.’

13. This, too, that *he* who shall provide care for fire has paid the greatest reverence unto Aûharmazd.

14. The propitiation of the righteous is the best *thing*, and their vexation is the worst ; when pleased they favour one, and *it is* the law of the sacred beings that they promote ; [when vexed they wound, and *it is* the demon that they restrict.

15. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.]<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of a destructive conflagration.

<sup>2</sup> The words in brackets are supplied by guess, to fill up a blank space left by the repairer of B on one of his patches. In K the passage is shorter, and stands as follows :—‘and in that which is unlawful operation *it is* troubled by the increase.’

<sup>3</sup> The spirit of fires mentioned in § 1. This dialogue seems to be a quotation from the original Pahlavi version of the Nask.

<sup>4</sup> Fire being called ‘the son of Aûharmazd’.

<sup>5</sup> Both MSS. have ‘me’ by mistake.

<sup>6</sup> The passages in brackets are omitted in B, evidently by mistake.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The eleventh fargard, the Yasna<sup>1</sup>, is about the assembly of the angels of the spiritual *existences* on account of the complaint of fire; and the complaint of fire in the assembly, with its statement of this, too<sup>2</sup>: ‘I am not of the world here, and from here I will extricate myself, from the earth up to the sky, and there I will shine on to the earth of seven regions, like the moon and sun and even the divinely-produced stars when they shine with their own light.’ 2. The words of Aûharmazd about the just complaining of fire as regards the contamination<sup>3</sup> of the creatures, the impossibility of keeping the fire undisturbed, and satisfying the fire concerning the creation of the creatures for the worldly *existence*, along with the disturbed condition of fire, too, owing to the impossibility of maintaining<sup>4</sup> the uncreated state which, with the freedom from disturbance of fire also, was better; likewise proclaiming the care of it. 3. And the speech of the fire was thus: ‘If there be not that one mode whereby I may thus shine, owing to those that have acted according to my request<sup>5</sup>, thou art aware, O Aûharmazd! there

<sup>1</sup> The Yasna of seven chapters, Av. *yasna haptanghâiti* (*Yas.* XXXV, 3-XLI, 6), here written *asnô* (for *yêsnô*) in both MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The spirit of fires, after repeating to the heavenly council the complaint he had already made to Aûharmazd alone, concludes with the same threat as in Chap. XI, 11.

<sup>3</sup> B *gûmekhtakîh* (K *gûmekzakh*) implies deterioration by an ‘intermingling’ of evil.

<sup>4</sup> K omits these last four words by mistake.

<sup>5</sup> That is, if he cannot desert the world, owing to the necessity of stopping with those who act properly.

*are some among the creatures that I cannot grant so much to; therefore carry me away, O Aûharmazd! then give me away there! and be thou carrying me away into the midst of Airân-vêg<sup>1</sup>!*

4. The propitious<sup>2</sup> fire is from the creator Aûharmazd, and it is produced by him in a dwelling, without *being* handled (*barâ sûdakô*)<sup>3</sup>, by aid of bringing together<sup>4</sup>. 5. And so he spoke in words thus: ‘Such is thine own growth, thou who art my fire! in every dwelling where thou comest, and *in* every village, every community, and every province; and as exalted as thou are the water and plants, and *he*, too, who is a guardian spirit of the righteous, when they shall bring forward holy-water for delivering up *to* thee<sup>5</sup>; *and*, when they shall bring forward to thee firewood which is dry, a person—through the light which he observes—*has* spoken of it thus: “This is the Gûsn-asp<sup>6</sup> fire.”’

6. About so much reward of the hewer and inspector and kindler of the firewood—when all three shall do *it* for the sake of affection—as *they*

<sup>1</sup> The primeval home of Mazda-worship, the abode of Yim, and the scene of Zarattûst’s first promulgation of the religion, the Airy-anem vâgô of the Avesta (see Vend. I, 1, 3, II, 21; Bd. XX, 32, XXXII, 3).

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. *afzûnîk*; the spenista (‘most bounteous’) fire of Yas. XVII, II, XXXVI, 3. According to Pahl. Yas. XVII, 67 it ‘stands in heaven before Aûharmazd in a spiritual state.’

<sup>3</sup> Or it may mean ‘*being* rubbed out,’ that is, ‘by friction;’ but compare the use of the word *sûdakîh* in Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Referring probably to the establishment of a sacred fire by bringing together every possible variety of fire that can be obtained.

<sup>5</sup> Merely as a formal offering, or for purifying the fire-stand, not for mingling with the fire itself.

<sup>6</sup> One of the three original sacred fires, which is said to have

are possessing righteousness. 7. About the character *and* reward of the washer (*âsnôtâr*) and the producer of the purity and cleansing of that which the fire *has* dropped<sup>1</sup>, *of* the introducer of the fire-wood and the washer upwards<sup>2</sup>, *of* the stirrer of the fire and the carrier-away of the firewood, who are strictly directed; the lawful work done with a *cooking-pot* *and* such-like, and the sin of him who is a disturber of it. 8. About the destroyer of that which the fire *has* dropped, and the introducer of damp firewood into it. 9. About the blessing of fire for people by whom *it is* satisfied.

10. About advice as regards not bringing to the fire that which is due to theft, *or* the power of extortion, and the grievous bridge-judgment<sup>3</sup> of him who is bringing *it*; *also* the defilement (*âlûdan*) and hurting of the fire from that which *occurs* when he likewise consecrates his hoard (*hanbarisnô*), owing to the corruption by the demons<sup>4</sup> thus arisen. 11. This, too, that *it is* owing to want of attention to fire when *it is* not at every menstrual excitement they produce, *in* a woman assisted by a propensity

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been established, in the time of king Kaî-Khûsrô, upon the Asnavand mountain in Âtûr-pâtakân, not far from Lake *Kêkast* (see Bd. XVII, 7; Zs. XI, 8-10).

<sup>1</sup> B *srâkhtô*, K *sarakhtô*, both here and in § 8; compare Av. *srask*.

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. *frâz âsnâtâr* must mean one who washes in the mode defined by the Av. *frasnâiti*, as distinguished from *upasnâiti*, in Vend. VIII, 98, 99, Ep. II, iii, 2; this mode is explained as *lâlâik*, ‘upwards,’ and distinguished from the *frôdgûnô*, ‘downward mode,’ in Ep. II, iv, 2.

<sup>3</sup> B inserts ‘thus arisen *through* the demons,’ the same phrase as concludes the section.

<sup>4</sup> K has ‘owing to a single word of the demons,’ by substituting *aêvak gôbisnô* for *âhûkînisnô*.

for a son (*pûs radîh*), *that* the progeny is a son. 12. And about the penalty for<sup>1</sup> the progress of other impropriety which occurs to fire; also *about* the person who has attained to the guardianship of fire and does not lawfully control it.

13. About an admonition to Zaratûst as to consecrating to the sacred beings anything whatever which *one* eats, and not eating *what is* unconsecrated. 14. About the wish of the evil spirit that no one shall be performing (*vadîdûnâñ-âdö*) worship and obeisance to the sacred beings, and *that the people* shall possess no ruler and high-priest, so that no desire of theirs shall arise for any virtuousness. 15. About an admonition as to indispensably worshipping the sacred beings with the best ceremonial, that of a priest (*âsrûkô*) without sin; or with an average *one*, that of a priest whose sin is not more than one Aredûs<sup>2</sup> without a basis (*a-bûn*); or with the lowest *one*, that of a priest whose *sin* is not more than one Khôr<sup>3</sup> on a basis (*pavan bûn*). 16. Whoever, in a village of Mazda-worshippers, *has* not chanted the *sacred* hymns after fifteen years of *age*, through sinfulness, is as a dog they *have* thrown provisions to, and it *has* occurred for a basis of the sin of unseasonable chattering<sup>4</sup>; also the inadmissibility of his soul by Mânsarspend<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that *p a* stands for *pavan*.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XX, 64, XXXI, 39.

<sup>3</sup> A sin twice as great as an Aredûs (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXI, 39).

<sup>4</sup> The sin of talking while eating, praying, or any other occasion when a prayer (*vâg*) has been taken inwardly, as a spell, and is not yet spoken out.

<sup>5</sup> A personification of the liturgy, Av. *mâthra spenta*, 'the bounteous text.'

17. About the coming of Ast-vidād<sup>1</sup>, at all times, to mortals whom death has reached<sup>2</sup>, and also whom it has not. 18. About the ideas of the wicked, that the best existence does not exist, *that* the production of the renovation of the universe does not occur, *that there are* no dead whom they raise up thereby, and *it is* not that change *one* attains. 19. This, too, that is false, for the same reason they observe, *being* wicked; because the best existence exists, *there* occurs a production of the renovation which is good, they raise up the dead thereby, and thus *one* attains that change.

20. About an admonition as to not making lamentation and weeping over those passed away; and, after the passing away of every righteous *one* of the religion to the spirits, *one* is not to augment the distress of the very spirit of life by making lamentation and weeping over the departed. 21. And this, too, that the guardian spirits of the righteous claim no lamentation and weeping after their own ceremonial and the blessing of righteous men. 22. This, too, that the body of every one is not of like will with the soul; food is the desire of the body, and also a store of wealth; righteous action is the desire of the soul, and also the gifts which they give away.

23. About an enquiry of the righteous Zarātūst as to who it is who has banished (*əpârînîdō*) all goodness and perfection from his own self, but thinks them not banished, and does not complain of

<sup>1</sup> Av. Astô-vîdhôtu, one of the demons of death (see Bd. XXVIII, 35; Dd. XXXVII, 44).

<sup>2</sup> Those who have attained old age, the natural time of death.

that loss<sup>1</sup>. 24. And the reply of Aūharmazd, that it is he *who* is deceived<sup>2</sup> by his own tongue through the utterance of words, so that, through speaking falsely, he has become worthy of death. 25. This, too, that for him it is the weapon of the evil spirit; *even* so complete mindfulness is the reign of Spendarmad<sup>3</sup>, and thus a liar is more a power for the religion when a man, on account of dulness of thought, *gives* no reply, so that he *may* not speak falsely through dulness of thought.

26. This, too, that he worships the demons with thousand-fold holy-water, who establishes him who is not a member of the community<sup>4</sup> in the Zōti duty<sup>5</sup>, sooner than him who is a wise Zōti. 27. And this, too, that thou shouldst fetch him who is a member of the community for the Zōti duty, not him who is not a member of the community, for thus thy advance is to the supreme heaven (*garôdmânö*). 28. Also this, that a bad Zōti is worse from the Zōti duty.

29. This, too, that that which is the earliest controller (*ayûkhtâr*) of sin is thought *which* is subdued<sup>6</sup>, then forgiveness, then shame, and then listening; and, afterwards, through the sinfulness of the fiend<sup>7</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> B has 'and *there is* no complaint of the loss.'

<sup>2</sup> K zîvînîdö.

<sup>3</sup> The female archangel who has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Sls. XV, 20-24); she is a personification of Av. *spenta ârmaiti*, 'bountiful devotion,' of which phrase the latter word is translated by Pahl. *bîndak-mînisnîh*, 'complete mindfulness.' See also Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3, and S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 393, 396.

<sup>4</sup> K adâhm; B has khêshm, 'wrath,' here, but not so in § 27.

<sup>5</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5, 9.

<sup>6</sup> B has 'he who is a controller of sin is Vohûman, owing to thinking of the spirits, which is subdued.'

<sup>7</sup> K has only 'through sinfulness.'

one becomes a promise-breaker. 30. This, too, that they shall bring every man who is a wounder before the convocation composed of any priest who is a controller of recitation (*srâyisnō ayûkhtâr*), any priest who is of the district (*âdehîk*), any priest who is of an out-district (*aûzdehîk*), and any priest who is *the man's own kinsman*.

31. 'Thus say I unto thee, *O Spitâmân!* let *there be* no breach of promise; neither when the conversation, that they would make a support, *was* with the wicked, and there is no great judiciousness in it; nor when *it was* with those of thine own religion, the righteous, as to anything of great judiciousness; because both of them are promises, both *with* the wicked and the righteous<sup>1</sup>.'

32. It is the excellence of righteousness *that is* perfect.

### CHAPTER XIII.

#### *Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The twelfth fargard, *Ustavaiti*<sup>2</sup>, is about the exaltation of Zaratûst through the satisfaction of water, and the hope of all creatures for him. 2. And about the impure recitation of a text, when<sup>3</sup> the text is not uttered by a high-priest. 3. This, too, that the text which a man who is corrupted may

<sup>1</sup> This admonition occurs repeatedly (see Chap. XX, 5; Yt. X, 2; AV. LII, 7).

<sup>2</sup> The appellation of the first hâ of the second Gâtha (Yas. XLIII) which begins with the words *ustâ ahmâi yahmâi ustâ*; it is here written *aûstavâitô* in Pahlavi.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that *mân*, 'which,' stands for *amat*; the Pâzand of both words being practically the same. Or, it may be, '*also him* who does not utter the text through a high-priest.'

offer is an impropriety (*adînâih*) for that which is an uncorrupted place. 4. This, too, is declared, that a greedy man whose belly is filled by accumulation—and the end of every sin is, to him, only for the gratification of the body—*one* considers just like a gallows to which *there* is a foundation (*sîpô*) of every impurity. 5. This, too, that a bird (*vâê*) practises that habit (*sân*) even that it kills those outright which have become large in *our* midst, which are the serpents produced by the demons. 6. This, too, that *for* invocation (*azbâyisnô*) of the sacred beings thinking with speaking, speaking with acting, and acting without deceitfulness are effectual.

7. About the pure goodness of the archangels, and the union of their thoughts, words, *and* deeds together; their bountifulness, nurturing, and protection are the cause<sup>1</sup> of the prosperity of the world. 8. About the production of Zaratûst *by* Aûharmazd with a goodness like his own. 9. This, too, that whoever gives anything to the disciples of Zaratûst, his reward and recompense are just as though the thing had been given by him to Zaratûst<sup>2</sup>.

10. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

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#### CHAPTER XIV.

##### *Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The thirteenth fargard, Tad-thwâ-peresâ<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> B omits *sân*, ‘the cause of.’

<sup>2</sup> Compare:—‘Inasmuch as ye have done *it* unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done *it* unto me.’ (Matthew xxv. 40.)

<sup>3</sup> The first three words of the second hâ of the second Gâtha (Yas. XLIV, 1), here written *tad-spâ-pêres* in Pahlavi.

is about the strength *and* mightiness of the spirit of the sacred cake<sup>1</sup>. 2. This, too, that every night the demons rush from hell<sup>2</sup> into the world, to injure *and* cause the death of the creatures; and, when *people* consecrate a sacred cake, that spirit descends to attack and keep back the demons, and to engage in combat with the demons ninety-nine times during every night; he also smites and stupefies them, and keeps *them* back from destroying the world.

3. This, too, that any one whatever of those men who utter these words<sup>3</sup> in prayer becomes righteous, except those men who shall contentedly, *or* wishfully, carry out a command for evil deeds, and they deceive (*suftēnd*), or make *others* deceive, by statements proposed to them; *and* whose evil thoughts are thus more than *their* good thoughts, their evil words more than *their* good words, and their evil deeds more than *their* good deeds. 4. About carrying off the reliance producable that *a sin* worthy of death is the obliteration (*frāz mūshṭanō*) of other sin, like an awful *and* mighty wind when it sweeps swiftly over the plain<sup>4</sup>.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### *Sūdkar Nask.*

1. The fourteenth fargard, *Ad-fravakhshyâ*<sup>5</sup>, is

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 2.

<sup>2</sup> K omits 'from hell,' and B omits 'night.'

<sup>3</sup> Meaning probably Yas. XLIV.

<sup>4</sup> A favorite metaphor derived from the Avesta text (see Pahl. Vend. III, 149; Mkh. LII, 19).

<sup>5</sup> The first two words of the third hâ of the second Gâtha (Yas. XLV, 1), here written *ad-fravakhshê* (B) and *ad-fravakhshâ*

about Aûharmazd's showing to Zaratûst the terrible condition of the soul of Keresâsp<sup>1</sup>; the dismay of Zaratûst owing to that terrible condition; the sorrowful speaking of Keresâsp as regards the slaying of multitudes, for which mankind extol him, whereby abstentions from sin *occurred*; and the recognition of him by the creator, Aûharmazd, as smiting his fire. 2. The supplication of Keresâsp *for* the best existence from Aûharmazd for those exploits when the serpent Srôbar<sup>2</sup> was slain by him, and the violence of that adversary; when Gandarep<sup>3</sup> with the golden heels was smitten by him, *and* the marvellousness of that fiend; when the Veskô progeny<sup>4</sup> who were descendants of Nivik and Dâstânîk were slain by him, and the grievous harm and disaster owing to them; and when the mighty wind<sup>5</sup> was appeased by him, *and* brought back from damaging the world to benefiting the creatures; *and* for that which *happens* when owing to confinement<sup>6</sup>, Dahâk becomes eager, rushes on for the

(K) in Pahlavi. This chapter has been already translated in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 370–372.

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 12; S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 369–382.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Av. *Gandarewa* of Yt. V, 38, XV, 28, XIX, 41; the ‘watery demon’ of Mkh. XXVII, 50.

<sup>4</sup> Reading hûn Veskô, the Av. hunavô Vaêskaya of Yt. V, 54, 57, who were enemies of the warrior Tusa; but the hunavô of Nivika and of the Dâstayâni were slain by Keresâspa (see Yt. XIX, 41). It is also possible to read khûnô-dâkô, ‘blood-producing’.

<sup>5</sup> When it becomes a storm-demon, the vâtô-daêva of Vend. X, 14, instead of being the angel of useful wind.

<sup>6</sup> In the volcano, Mount Dimâvand, where he was confined by Frêdûn in olden times, and whence he is expected to break loose hereafter (see Bd. XII, 31, XXIX, 9; Byt. III, 55–61).

destruction of the world, and attempts (*girâyêdö*) the annihilation of the creatures; *when he* (*Keresâsp*) is roused to smite him, and to tame that powerful fiend for the world and creatures.

3. The enmity of fire to Keresâsp, through the distress which he occasioned to it, and the keeping of him away<sup>1</sup> [from heaven; also the friendship of Gôs-aûrvan<sup>2</sup> for him, through the prosperity which he occasioned to it, and the protection of him] from hell. 4. The petition of Zaratûst to the fire to have compassion upon what *was* owing to *Keresâsp's* sin; the compliance (*hangâftanö*) of the fire *with* that petition, and the departure of the soul of Keresâsp to the ever-stationary existence<sup>3</sup>.

5. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### *Sûdkar Nask.*

I. The fifteenth fargard, Kamnamaêza<sup>4</sup>, is

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets occur only in K; their meaning is, however, given in the Pahlavi Rivâyat accompanying Dd. and quoted in S.B.E., vol. xviii, pp. 379, 380. The enmity of the fire to Keresâsp was owing to its having been extinguished (when kindled upon the serpent Srôbar) by the upsetting of Keresâsp's caldron, as described in Yas. IX, 11, and Yt. XIX, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Av. *geus urva*, 'the soul of the ox,' the spirit which departed from the primeval ox when the evil spirit attacked it; she is supposed to be the heavenly protector of all animals, and is also called Drvâspa (see Yt. IX, 1; Bd. III, 14, 18, IV, 2-5; Sls. XXII, 14).

<sup>3</sup> A locality intermediate between heaven and hell, where the souls of those whose sins and good works exactly balance remain in a passive and immovable state till the resurrection (see Sl. VI, 2; Mkh. VII, 18, XII, 14; Dd. XX, 3).

<sup>4</sup> The appellation of the fourth, and last, hâ of the second

about the arrival of Ast-vîdâd<sup>1</sup> upon the spot, and the insecurity of any one from him ; also the non-continuance of the mortal body and decaying (farsâvand) wealth of any one of the mortals summoned is death<sup>2</sup>. 2. And this, too, that Ast-vîdâd shall carry off all mortals by that awful and proclaimed marvel, and they are not saved from him<sup>3</sup> ; each one, indeed, saves only *that* which is the soul. 3. This, too, that the soul alone sees the reward and bridge<sup>4</sup> of the spiritual *existence*, and embodied it does not see such *things* ; if, *when* embodied, it could have seen like that, then it would not have committed the sin really originating with it, even for anything whatever *of* the ease and comfort of the worldly existence, nor shrunk (mansidö) from the first good work.

4. About the hideousness and frightfulness of the body of man after death, and only that which is considered by every one the most precious of desirable things is undecaying ( $\alpha$ farsâk). 5. As regards the casting away of the dust, and also living people, that which is more nearly connected therewith is

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Gâtha (Yas. XLVI), which begins with the words kâm nemôi zäm ; it is here written kamnamêzö in Pahlavi.

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XII, 17. The connection of the demon of death with Yas. XLVI is that the first few words of that hâ are supposed to be repeated by the wicked soul in despair after death (see Yt. XXII, 20, W.; Mkh. II, 159; AV. XVII, 7).

<sup>2</sup> K has mardüm, ‘human (?)’.

<sup>3</sup> B has the whole of this first clause thus :—‘ And the unconsumed ( $\alpha$ pakhshînö) property of him who is surprised by the invisible marvel *that* he shall endure, they have not saved from him.’ This marvel is probably the supposed casting of a noose by Ast-vîdâd, around the neck of the dead to drag him to hell, which only the righteous are able to cast off.

<sup>4</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XIV, 8, XXIV, 10.

uninhabitableness<sup>1</sup> and its duration. 6. And when, too, this way, the consciousness is in the vicinity of the body<sup>2</sup>, and the dog and bird go forth for the dismemberment of the body, the frightening of the consciousness by them is like *that of* a sheep by a wolf; also *its* disputing with the dog and bird about the dismemberment of the body, the reciting (*mârdanö*) of words spiritually *at* first repelling them, thinking the body is alive. 7. And, afterwards, when the body is dismembered by them, the hastening of the consciousness to the vicinity of the dismembered body, just like a female (*dênuðakö*) sheep when it hastens on to *its* young ones; *and its* noticing—with grievous unhappiness<sup>3</sup> for the body—and recounting where the features (*dêmagânö*) of that body were in happiness, and to what misery it has now come. 8. And, when that body became sinful in *its* lifetime, about its not accepting, during that lifetime, that which the consciousness repeatedly well-endeavoured to promote for that body, as regards abstaining from sin and practising good works.

9. This, too, that thy time of worldly happiness *has* occurred, and that of misery is long. 10. This, too, that the people who live on, in the worldly *existence*, a hundred years are less than those who do not live a hundred years; the progress of a lifetime, little *by* little, and the rushing on *of* a lifetime; wife and property and the rest *of* worldly *things* all

<sup>1</sup> Corpses are to be deposited in an uninhabited place (see Vend. VI, 44-51, VII, 45-50; Dd. XVIII).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Dd. XVI, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. *ashâdîh* in K, but B has *ayâdakîh*, ‘remembrance.’

leaving you at once, and coming to another person.  
 11. And this, too, that—when mankind mostly keep up any statement (*nisang-i k*) or register (*aêvar'gö*) which they have drawn out (*nazi-hênd*)<sup>1</sup> about ordainable supplies in a friendly or inimical (*patyân-mônd*) way, which is more particularly expedient for them—a supply, suitable for the discreet, of the rest of that which is constantly desirable, is to be extracted therefrom, and one is to keep up its preparation with his own.

12. About the seven immortal rulers who are produced in the region of *Khvanîras*<sup>2</sup>, and also about the ordaining of their glory and the goodness, too, of *their* assistants living and privileged in both existences. 13. The tree opposed to harm<sup>3</sup> is on *Aîrân-vêg*<sup>4</sup>, in the place of most excavations (*frêh-nigânân gâs*). 14. *Gôk-patô*<sup>5</sup> is in foreign<sup>6</sup> coun-

<sup>1</sup> Or ‘they offer up (*ûzdahênd*).’

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 2. And, regarding these seven rulers, compare Bd. XXIX, 5, 6; Dd. XC.

<sup>3</sup> The many-seeded tree in the wide-formed ocean, whence the seeds of all wild plants are brought by the rain (see Yt. XII, 17; Bd. XXVII, 2, 3; Mkh. LXII, 37-42).

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. XII, 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Gôpatshah* in Bd. XXIX, 5, XXXI, 20, 22; Byt. II, 1; Dd. XC, 3, 4; *Gôpaftôshah* in Mkh. LXII, 8, 31; and *Gôpaftô* in Mkh. XLIV, 35. All these forms of the name imply that he was a king, or master, of oxen; and Mkh. describes him as a *Mazda*-worshipping minotaur on the sea-shore, probably the Caspian, or the river Oxus, as Bd. makes him a brother, or nephew, of *Frâsiyâv* the Turâanian. His country is called *Saukavastân* in Bd., and *Gôpatô* in Dd.

<sup>6</sup> Pahl. *an-Aîrân* which corresponds with the position of *Saukavastân* being between *Tûrkistân* and *Kînistân*, as stated in Bd. XXIX, 13, and that of *Gôpatô* being coterminous with *Aîrân-vêg*, as in Dd. XC, 4. But K, by omitting the negative prefix, places it

tries. 15. Pēhshōtanū<sup>1</sup>, son of Vistāsp, is in Kangdez<sup>2</sup> the hundred-moated (sad-gandak), wherein there are a myriad spears (drafsh), those of the exalted who wear black marten fur, who are righteous listeners of the religion<sup>3</sup>, out of the retinue (akhārīh) of Pēhshōtanū, son of Vistāsp. 16. Frādakhshtō, son of the mortal Khūmbīks<sup>4</sup>, who is predominant on the waters flowing in channels. 17. Ashavāzz, son of Pōrūdakhshtō<sup>5</sup>, who is predominant over the most manifest among uplands, the plain of Pēsinās<sup>6</sup>. 18. Barāzak<sup>7</sup> the causer of strife. 19. 'And the eighth Kayān<sup>8</sup> who was renowned, O Vistāsp! it is

'within the countries of Irān;' and Mkh. makes Gōpāitō a chief of Aīrān-vēg.

<sup>1</sup> Av. Peshōtanu, commonly written Pēshyōtanū in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> A fortified settlement, to the east of Irān (see Bd. XXIX, 10), formed by Siyāvakhsh (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 14) who was first cousin of Vistāsp's great-grandfather (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28, 29).

<sup>3</sup> Who are expected to be led into Irān by Pēhshōtanū in future times, when he is summoned by the angels to restore religion to the world after the conflict of the nations (see Byt. III, 25-42).

<sup>4</sup> K has 'Frādakhshtō, son of Khūmbīk the son of Hōshāng.' He was evidently the Fradhākhsti Khuūbya of Yt. XIII, 138, who might have been considered as a descendant of the Haoshyangha mentioned before him in Yt. XIII.

<sup>5</sup> Av. Ashavazdangh Pourudhākhstāyana of Yt. V, 72, XIII, 112.

<sup>6</sup> Said to be in Kāvulistān where Sāma Keresāspa lies asleep till summoned to kill Dahāk in the latter times (see Bd. XXIX, 7, 11; Byt. III, 59-61). It may be connected with the vairi Pisānangh of Yt. V, 37, where Keresāspa offered sacrifice, and with the Pisān valley south-east of Qandahār; but Chap. XXI, 20 seems to place it between Māzendarān and Irān, and Mkh. LXII, 20 also describes it as near Mount Dimāvand. Its name is variously written Pēsinās, Pesānsih, Pēsyānsa, Pēsāndas, Pēsānīgas, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly Av. Varāza of Yt. XIII, 101.

<sup>8</sup> Kavi Haosravangh (Kāi-Khūsrōī) is the eighth and last in the list of Kavis, or Kayāns, in Yt. XIII, 132; and was celebrated for

he whom *one* calls Kai-Khûsrôî, who produces even an advance of thy religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, and also understands about *it*; who gives my good practices further blessings, so that the world<sup>1</sup> maintains my doings with benedictions.'

20. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### *Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The sixteenth fargard, *Spentâ-mainyû*<sup>2</sup>, is about effecting the bridge-judgment of sinners, as declared by revelation. 2. About performing the ceremony (*yastô*) for a man and a woman, and it is ordered *for* the woman before the man; the fitness for the supreme heaven (*garôdmânîkîh*) arisen through the liturgy (*yastô*) to be recited itself, or *through* purchasing *heaven in the worldly existence*<sup>3</sup>.

3. About the immunity of the soul from hell through the righteousness of *having* respectfully given a horse of a *good* race, the land of a cultivated field, *or* a virtuous woman, to a righteous man; and also the woman who gives herself in marriage to

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his opposition to idolatry (see Yt. V, 49, 50; Bd. XVII, 7). This section appears to be an actual quotation from the Pahlavi version of the Nask, professing to give the words of Zaratûst.

<sup>1</sup> K has dêhfîk, 'a provincial.'

<sup>2</sup> The first two words of the first hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. XLVII, 1), which are converted into the Pahlavi appellation *Spendmaîtô*.

<sup>3</sup> By providing for the performance of the proper ceremonies for the benefit of one's own soul.

the righteous man; and that liberal good work increases from time to time<sup>1</sup>, and from day to day.

4. About the bridge *penalty* of him who is a mourner (*navinidâr*) and self-wounder in the three nights after a death, and how it is as though they who are living should again pour melted ore on a human being. 5. About the punishment for a woman who gives herself in marriage to a righteous man, and comes away<sup>2</sup> from him; such as when a hedgehog<sup>3</sup> should be constantly going in and coming out by her sexual organ; and the cutting off of her way from the best existence. 6. About the non-deliverance of a soul of the wicked from hell till the future existence. 7. About the punishment of the wicked there is this, too, it is as though a sheep which is alive should be remaining tied by the legs, head downwards, and there should be a specific exudation of its toes through running at the nose<sup>4</sup>.

8. About the Gâthas for an ordeal<sup>5</sup> of the spiritual existence, which is concealed in every mode, being without a footing (*apâ-pâstakö*), as it were, for him who is a righteous chanter of the Gâthas.

9. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

<sup>1</sup> Pahl. *vidanâânag* *vidanâânag*, a hybrid equivalent of *zamânak* *zamânak* (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 6 n.).

<sup>2</sup> B has 'relapses.'

<sup>3</sup> Compare AV. LXX.

<sup>4</sup> Pahl. *afas angûstô zahîh-1-i mâyagânîk pavan vînîk-tag ae.* For *mâyagânîk*, 'specific' (which occurs, however, in Bk. VIII, Chap. XX, 166), we can read *mâsânîk*, 'tumorous or coagulating,' or we may consider it equivalent to *mûyisnîk*, 'lamentable.'

<sup>5</sup> Compare the reference to the ordeal by fire in Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 6; the earlier part of the chapter is also somewhat of a homily upon the references to the wicked and righteous in the same hâ.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The seventeenth fargard, Yêzî<sup>1</sup>, is about where *he* is who shall commit *any* of these five sins<sup>2</sup>, and, thereby perverted from the religion, has diminished his own life and destiny<sup>3</sup>:—A human being when he contentedly reverences a demon in spiritual lordship (ahûh) and priestly authority (radîh), one steadfast in religion when *he so reverences one* unsteady in religion, a teacher when *he so reverences one who is no teacher and ignorant, one* acquainted with the Gâthas when *he so reverences one* unacquainted with the Gâthas and unintelligent (anashnâs)<sup>4</sup>, and a helpful one when *he so reverences an unhelpful and unwise one*.

2. This, too, where also they are who unlawfully slaughter a sheep, or beast of burden, which diminishes their life and destiny. 3. And so, too, those also who think scornfully of Aûharmazd, O pure and righteous Spitâmân! and their own religion, the strength of the righteous and thy disciples.

4. Excellence that is perfect is righteousness.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The eighteenth fargard, Ad-mâ-yavâ<sup>5</sup>, is

<sup>1</sup> The first word of the second hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. XLVIII, 1), here written yezîk in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> B omits ‘sins.’

<sup>3</sup> Or ‘glory.’

<sup>4</sup> So in K, but both MSS. give this clause imperfectly.

<sup>5</sup> The first three words of the third hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. XLIX, 1), here written ad-mâ-iyûbô in Pahlavi.

about the pregnancy of the demon from him who has eaten and chattered in sinfulness towards Khûrdad and Amûrdad<sup>1</sup>, or who makes water when standing<sup>2</sup>, or who heedlessly sees his semen. 2. And the hussy<sup>3</sup> who spills (*gûyêdö*) anything after sunset (*hûk-frâshmôk-dâd*), or who scatters a morsel (*dânar*) of food to the north, at night, without a recitation of the Ahunavair<sup>4</sup>.

3. This, too, that only the soul is constantly desirable for the body, even through this alone, that this perishable body<sup>5</sup> [is a worldly state of righteousness, and, by rousing up (*lâlâ-payamisnîh*)<sup>6</sup> when thou wouldest sleep on, the righteousness] is on the advance when thou wouldest have retreated; and

<sup>1</sup> Av. *haurvâtât*, ‘completeness, or health,’ and *ameretât*, ‘immortality;’ the archangels who have special charge of water and plants, respectively (see Sls. XV, 25-29), and are said to be injured by the sin of talking while eating and drinking those things (see Chap. IX, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Thereby polluting more ground than is necessary (see Sls. X, 5).

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XI, 5 n.

<sup>4</sup> K does not mention the latter sinful action. The reason of the sin of such actions is that they may be considered as offerings to the demons (who are supposed to come from the north and to be powerful at night) unless protected by the Ahunavair (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7) used as an exorcism (see Sd. XXX, 1, 2; Sls. X, 7, XII, 18).

<sup>5</sup> B has ‘even through the assertion that this is corporeal and perishable.’ The passage in brackets occurs only in K.

<sup>6</sup> This appears to be the most probable reading of the word which occurs again in § 5, where it is written *lâlâ-ûpayamisnîh* in K, which form is also found in Hn. I, 23, where it translates Av. *ustryamnô*. For the latter member of this compound see also Chap. XX, 6, 7. For the syllable *yam* we might substitute *gam* or *gam* without much alteration of meaning, or even *dam* if we translate by ‘fanning up, exciting.’

the righteousness, in arising, is like thee in every coming *and* departure; through fetching *and* delivering the breath it shall become good reward, abundant reward, and the reward of righteousness.

4. When the body shall act so, the soul is rejoiced *and* shall utter a blessing for the body thus: 'Happy may it be *for* thee, *O* perishable body! whom I have made tall, *and* whom I have brought near to the best existence.' 5. And when the body shall not accept the progress (*afrâs*) of the soul, and says *it is* evil progress on rousing up, evil progress on advancing, [and evil progress upwards, the soul is a demon]<sup>1</sup> and shall offer [lamentable]<sup>1</sup> words thus: 'Evil *art* thou, *O* perishable body! whom I made dwarfish (*gasûk*), *and* whom I have brought near to the worst existence.'

6. About where *there are* unaccustomed (*avê sakô*), imperfect, and secret signs of short life, and the healthfulness *of* uttering the Ahunavair<sup>2</sup> *and* Ashem<sup>3</sup> for it. 7. This, too, that, when thou wouldest squat for making water, thou recitest the Ahunavair, and the Ashem, afterwards, when thou wouldest stand up; so that *any* demon, *or* fiend, shall least injure thee. 8. And when thou wouldest go in unto *thy* wife (*nârik*), thou recitest first the Ahunavair, and the Ashem, afterwards, when thou wouldest be coming together<sup>4</sup>; for so thou wouldest be making that, too, *which* arises—which is thy son—more righteous and

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are omitted in K.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. III, 1; here, and in §§ 7, 8, it is expressed by Pahl. *aharâyîh*, 'righteousness,' being an abbreviation of its usual appellation, 'praise of righteousness,' in Pahlavi.

<sup>4</sup> Pahl. 'amat andarg hakhtô vadîdûnâñ æ.'

more successful through the Ashem. 9. This, too, that, when thou wouldest go into a house, thou shouldst be offering homage, and do thou utter the Ahuna-vair, *for the spirit of the house and for everything of the material existence of the righteous which is and was and will be in that dwelling.*

10. Also about the corruption (*ta vastanō*) of the wicked, and the calamity (*sūr*) which is unjustly distributed by them in the realm<sup>1</sup>.

11. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

## CHAPTER XX.

### *Sādkar Nask.*

1. The nineteenth fargard, *Kad-mōi-urvā*<sup>2</sup>, is about where the souls, when they come together, extol the soul of him who *was* a virtuous high-priest, a friend of the soul, because he did not injure it, *and* guarded *it* from hell.

2. About the darkness, the intensity (*būr'zvō-hōmandīh*) and far-reaching bottomlessness of the blackness, and the absence of goodness *in* hell; and the proximity to stenches, close concealment<sup>3</sup>, sleet-pelted clambering (*pīsnakō-bālinīh*), frozen ad-

<sup>1</sup> Like Yas. XLIX this fargard begins with special references to the wicked, and returns to them towards the end.

<sup>2</sup> The first three words of the fourth, and last, hā of the third Gātha (Yas. L, 1), here written *kad-mōk-ravakō* in Pahlavi.

<sup>3</sup> Compare AV. LIV, 5-8:—‘As close as (*tang-i-k*) from the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs a horse has in *his* mane, so many in number the souls of the wicked stand, but they do not see, nor do they hear a sound, one from the other, *and* every one, therefore, thinks that he is alone.’ For a description of hell see also Dd. XXVII.

vancing, painful condition, distressed state, and awful fear of those in hell. 3. This, too, that is thrown open (*lakhvâr ramitund*) over it, from the Dâiti peak<sup>1</sup>, which is in Aîrân-vêg, to Albûr'z<sup>2</sup>, and below the middle of which is the gate of hell, is the *Kînvad* bridge<sup>3</sup> which is the route (*vidâr*) of every one, righteous *or* wicked; the width across the route of the righteous is a breadth of nine spears, each one the length of three reeds, *but* the route for the wicked becomes like the edge of a razor.

4. 'Thus say I<sup>4</sup> unto thee, *O Spîtâmân!* that the man of truth steps forward over the *Kînvad* pass, even the far-famed happy bridge; for Åstâd<sup>5</sup>, the good promoter of the world, and Mitrô<sup>6</sup> of the vast cattle-pastures save only the man possessing truth from that distress, as though they *were* a regiment (*sipâh*) a thousand strong. 5. So I say unto thee, *O Spîtâmân!* that thou shouldst not become a liar unto Mitrô, neither when thou wouldst converse with the wicked, nor when *thou wouldst* with those of thine own religion who are righteous; for both *of* those are promises, both *with* the wicked and the righteous; there is a promise, *O Zaratûst!* even *of* a wolf with young animals, *but* that which is a

<sup>1</sup> Or *Kakâd-i Dâiti* (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 101; Bd. XII, 7).

<sup>2</sup> Av. *hara berezaiti*, the range of lofty mountains supposed to surround the world (see Bd. V, 3-5).

<sup>3</sup> Here called *Kînakö-pûhal*, and *Kîs-vidarg* in § 4; for a fuller description of it see Dd. XXI, 2-7. Allusion is made to it in Yas. L, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Aûharmazd, speaking to Zaratûst. The whole of this paragraph appears to be quoted verbatim from the original Pahlavi text of the Nask.

<sup>5</sup> See Chap. IX, 6.

<sup>6</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

lascivious (*gêhik*) promise is more awful, *O Spîtâmân!* 6. So I say unto thee, *O Spîtâmân!* that thou shouldst not seize a wanton (*gêhik*) for use—that is, do not make her *thy* wife—and with compulsion (*ûpayamisnîh*) of her<sup>1</sup>—that is, do not let *thyself* lie with her. 7. And if thou shouldst seize a courtezan for use, and with compulsion of her, thou mayst not dismiss *her* afterwards, neither in adversity, nor in prosperity, neither on account of fondness for self, nor *for* life; because *he* who seizes a courtezan for use, and with compulsion, and shall dismiss her on account of fondness for self, or *for* life, becomes thereby a breaker of promises to the house, village, community, *or* province, *that* gives her life (*valman zivinêdö*), *and to the soul that animates her*<sup>2</sup>.

8. So breaking the promise comes upon the children that are theirs, through evil teaching; *and* he who is wicked is lying down without children at the bottom of hell. 9. *That* is, there is nothing whatever of<sup>3</sup> happiness *for* the wicked, that happiness which is produced abundantly by him *who is Aûharmazd*.

10. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, ‘with approach to her’ (see Chap. XIX, 3 n). If *ûpadamisnîh* were read, it might mean ‘aspiration, or attachment’ for her.

<sup>2</sup> This implies that the woman, being a notorious sinner, cannot reasonably complain of bodily injury on being dismissed; but her soul and the community are grievously injured by her being thus driven into further sin, and for this injury the man’s soul will be made responsible.

<sup>3</sup> K has ‘none even of this.’

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The twentieth fargard, Vohû-khshathrem<sup>1</sup>, is about the oppressive actions of the sovereignty which Dahâk<sup>2</sup> exercised over the earth of seven regions, and the forward progress of his commands owing to a surrounding of terrors.

2. About Dahâk's enquiry of the members of the assembly, regarding the reason of the affliction of the collected people, after the cutting up<sup>3</sup> of Yim<sup>4</sup> and the accession (khûdâyîh) of Dahâk; and the people's saying, *in reply* to Dahâk, that Yim had kept away want and destitution, hunger and thirst, decay and death, lamentation and weeping from the world, *besides* the cold and heat of the immoderate mingling of the demon with mankind. 3. And this, too, that<sup>4</sup> 'a giver of comfort was Yim—that is, those things *were* produced by him which are the comfort of mankind—and he was a giver of desire for them, so that his happiness *was* through the gratification produced—that is, mankind gratified him through virtue. 4. And Aûdak<sup>5</sup>, who made

<sup>1</sup> The first two words of the fourth Gâtha (Yas. LI, 1), here written vohûk-khshatar (B) and vôhûk-khshatar (K) in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 8.

<sup>3</sup> As mentioned in Yt. XIX, 46; Bd. XVII, 5 ('when Yim was cut up by them the fire Frôbak saves the glory of Yim from the hand of Dahâk') and XXXI, 5. Regarding Yim see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 6-8.

<sup>4</sup> What follows, as far as the end of § 7, appears to be quoted verbatim from the original Pahlavi text of the Nask.

<sup>5</sup> The demon Uda who tries to make people talk when they ought to be silent (Bd. XXVIII, 19), and who seems to be identified

Yim the splendid *and* rich in flocks—who *was* struck down by you through violent assault—unauthorisedly desirous (*varak*<sup>1</sup>) and eager for the world, produced want and destitution, distress and greed, hunger and thirst, and the sanctifier<sup>2</sup> of Wrath the wounding assailant, Want without pastures, Terror, Destruction the secret-moving, Decay the decrepit<sup>3</sup>, and the seven *arch*-demons<sup>4</sup>.’ 5. And this, too, that ‘those who look *for* a son *are* made devoid of pregnancy by thee; evil-destined is the monster (*sipist*) self-made, the uncompleted demon that it is impossible to seek a remedy for, who does not extend (*lâ vâlêd*) from *himself*, that is, no lineage proceeds from him. 6. And thou *art* a sheep that is a wide-traveller, *and* keeps the dog *away* from mankind; thou *hast* snatched away from us the bright radiance of Yim the splendid *and* rich in flocks, who came out on every evil contingency, at the approach of

(in Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 70) with the fiend who confesses her amours to Srôsh, and is said (in Bd. XXXI, 6) to have been the mother of Dahâk, there named Udaî or Aûd, but more commonly called Vadak (see Chap. X, 3; Dd. LXXII, 5, LXXVIII, 2), whence possibly the matronymic Vadakân (Mkh. LVII, 25, the Av. vadaghana of Vend. XIX, 6) of that monarch. The text here appears to allude to an amour with Yim.

<sup>1</sup> Av. *vara*; or it may be a miswriting of *vardak*, ‘astray’ (Av. *vareta*).

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. *aßzisn-hômônd*, ‘one holding ceremonies,’ alluding to Dahâk himself as the progeny of Aûdak.

<sup>3</sup> These five demons are Aeshm, Niyâz, Saham, Ség, and Zarmân in Pahlavi, who, with the exception of Saham, ‘terror,’ are described in Bd. XXVIII, 15-17, 23, 26.

<sup>4</sup> The seven *arch*-demons are the six mentioned in Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 7-13, XXX, 29, whose Avesta names are Akem-manô, Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, and Zairika (see Vend. X, 9, 10, XIX, 43), together with either Mithaokhta or Angramainyu himself (see Bd. I, 24).

every winter, or scorched by extreme heat, so as to act for the benefit of his place<sup>1</sup>. 7. Thou art intelligent, O Bêvarâsp<sup>2</sup>! do thou even tell how this opinion is so, that a bad ruler is a thing which is so bad; he who is a good ruler is our desire, we will give the revenue of taxation (bâhar-i madam-dedrûnisnih) to him, and anything which is necessary for good government when he shall achieve it.'

8. About the smiting by Frêdûn<sup>3</sup>, for the sake of killing Dahâk; the striking of his club upon the nape of the neck<sup>4</sup> (pilîk), the heart, and even the skull; and Dahâk's not dying from that beating. 9. Then smiting him with a sword, and the formation (vastanð) of noxious creatures of many kinds, from the body of Dahâk, at the first, second, and third blow. 10. The exclamation of the creator Aûharmazd to Frêdûn thus: 'Thou shouldst not cut him who is Dahâk, because, if thou shouldst cut him, Dahâk would be making this earth full of serpents, toads (khan-galâk), scorpions, lizards, tortoises, and frogs;' with the mode of binding him with awful fetters, in the most grievous punishment of confinement<sup>5</sup>.

11. This, too, that when Az-i Dahâk was bound, the report of the same proceeded thus through all the regions, which are seven, that down-stricken is Az-i Dahâk, but he who smote him is Frêdûn the Âspikân<sup>6</sup>, the exalted and mighty. 12. And in the

<sup>1</sup> K has only 'who came out at every place to act for its benefit.'

<sup>2</sup> 'With a myriad of horses,' a title of Dahâk.

<sup>3</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 8, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Or, perhaps, 'the reins.'

<sup>5</sup> In Mount Dimâvand (see Chap. XV, 2 n).

<sup>6</sup> Av. Âthwyâna, a patronymic derived from Âthwya who,

tenth winter those particulars *were* believed, and thus they spoke, that *it was* owing to<sup>1</sup> Yim that *Az-i Dahâk* is now smitten by them, because the tidings which are good are not yet gathered unto all the regions, which are seven, and those which are evil do not mention *Az*, nor demand the virtuous maiden (*karâtik*) with importunity, nor even coveted wealth<sup>2</sup>. 13. This, too, that, when information came to him of women, or property, that seemed to him desirable to possess, *they were* then admitted by him into a golden cage<sup>3</sup>, and that, which was completely impregnable (*aîristö*), came on through immaterial space (*mainôg-dívâkîh*) to the den (*grêstakö*) of *Az-i Dahâk*.

14. This, too, that, though<sup>4</sup> he who smote him *were* his brother, or descendant, or kinsman, or any one whatever of *his* nearest relations, it did not seem to them as that which is grievous, and *it was* not thought of in their minds, so that it did not occasion them even a reminiscence again; and thus they talked, that *if* a householder *be* he that smote, *he is one* for whom all the fires of the religion are suitable, *but* that householder *being* a monarch, he that smote is *one* who is every way their ruler. 15. This,

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according to Yas. IX, 7, was the father of Thraêtaona (Frêdûn); but Bd. XXXI, 4, 7, 8, XXXII, 1 n, make it a family name for many preceding generations.

<sup>1</sup> Or *min* may mean 'apart from.'

<sup>2</sup> Demands often made by Dahâk, as stated in § 13.

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. *sûlak-hômand*, 'something having apertures;' compare the *sûlâk-hômand* which translates Av. *sufrâm* and *suwraya* in Vend. II, 7, 18, 30, and has sometimes been understood as a 'signet-ring.' Also compare § 19 below.

<sup>4</sup> Assuming that *mûn*, 'who,' stands for *amat*, as in Chap. XIII, 2.

too, that at every place where he came on, and upon which his horse's hoofs (*safô*) fell, the dense fire from them was for the protection of the horse's body. 16. This, too, that through his confused (*gûmêzakô*) practising of good deeds arose even the evil deeds of *Az-i Dahâk*.

17. About those of the Mâzendarân<sup>1</sup> country having consulted, after the smiting of Dahâk, as to turning (*gâstanô*) to Khvanîras<sup>2</sup>, and driving out Frêdûn therefrom, and as to the residence offered by the same place through the great number fallen; also, on account of their tallness, there are parts of the wide-formed ocean<sup>3</sup> that come up to their mid-thigh, there are others that are up to the navel, and the deeper places are up to the mouth. 18. And, when they have come to this region, their producing grievous harin and destruction to the poor<sup>4</sup>, and the coming of the people with complaints to Frêdûn, and their speaking thus: 'Why didst thou smite *Az-i Dahâk*, who was a good ruler as to prerogative, so that danger was kept away by him, and an inquisitor (*vigôyidâr*) from him protected this region from those of the Mâzendarân country?' 19. And they also said this, about the vileness of the Mâzendarâns, and the wretched state of the people of this region as regards them, that is, they then speak thus: 'Since their habits are thus, since they

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 9.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 2. Mâzendarân was considered to be outside of Khvanîras because it is separated from Irân by lofty mountains.

<sup>3</sup> The Caspian is probably meant here, being considered a portion of the circumambient ocean.

<sup>4</sup> K omits 'to the poor.'

are filthy (*dôs-hômônd*)—that is, dirt (*karak*) is theirs—possessing holes<sup>1</sup> (*sûlak-hômônd*)—that is, holes are theirs—and having appellations (*karîtunisnô-hômônd*)—that is, they call to one another—we men (*vîr*) think, and consider upon this, that they also are human beings.'

20. About the encountering of Frêdûn with those of the Mâzendarân country on the plain of Pêshângas<sup>2</sup>, and disputing with them thus: 'You are of the Mâzendar country, and I (*anmanô*) have destroyed *Az-i Dahâk* by the swiftest ruin, *him* who was a grievous sovereign of every one, demons and men; for that smiting of him I am produced by Aûharmazd more overpowering than his limbs made paralyzed by his own enmity, and then you destroy this country of mine, you who are of the Mâzendar country.'

21. And the Mâzendarâns thought slightly (*sapûkô*) of Frêdûn, and spoke in a tone of derision thus: 'Should it be so, that thou destroyedst *Az-i Dahâk* by the swiftest ruin, *him* who was a good sovereign of both demons and men, and thou art produced by Aûharmazd, for that smiting of him, more overpowering than his limbs, even then we will settle in this *place* and will stay in this *place*; and it is not thou that art exalted, who art an overgrown (*ka bed-ârôyisnô*) huge sheep with the speech of a hero among other people, and we would not admit thee here.'

22. This, too, that 'nevertheless *they* afterwards fled, and the victorious Frêdûn pursued *them* to the

<sup>1</sup> Burrows, caves, and similar underground habitations are probably meant.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XVI, 17.

foremost upland, and his nostrils flamed *upon* it so that *they* split it through ; from his right nostril is the cutting *and* sharp scorching of the ice *that* has fallen *and* of all the cold of winter ; and from his left nostril is the cutting *and* sharp scorching of the rock *that* has fallen, which is similarly burning to a fire the size of a house, carrying the dust from the feet of the male ox, Barmâyûn<sup>1</sup>, of the obstructed victor, the mighty Frêdûn. 23. And he made it rush up on the ascent, whereby they are made figures of stone, and they who *are* of the Mâzendar country are destroyed by him through the smiting of fifties, the smiting of hundreds, the smiting of thousands<sup>2</sup>, the smiting of myriads, and the smiting of *multitudes* innumerable<sup>3</sup>.

24. ‘Thus *there* are destroyed by him, the victorious *and* mighty Frêdûn, two-thirds *of* those of the Mâzendar country, and one-third came out beaten and sick ; and never afterwards, *O* Spítâmân Zarâtûst ! have they who *are* of the Mâzendar country marched upon this region of Khvanîras, and *it has* not *been* imagined by them, even in thinking about *it*, that they<sup>4</sup> should go *there*, except those<sup>5</sup> whose names were thus, Spitiyôs, *son* of Spânsnâyôs<sup>6</sup>, and Arezrâspâh, *son* of Spânsnâyôs<sup>7</sup>, who have wan-

<sup>1</sup> This appears to have also been the name of a brother of Frêdûn (see Bd. XXXI, 8).

<sup>2</sup> B omits ‘the smiting of thousands.’

<sup>3</sup> Compare Yt. V, 54, 58, 117; Pahl. Vend. VII, 137, 139.

<sup>4</sup> Literally ‘we.’

<sup>5</sup> K has ‘the two.’

<sup>6</sup> These first two names are only in K, because B repeats here a previous phrase by mistake. The second name is written Sânsnâyôs here, but is spelt correctly on its next occurrence.

<sup>7</sup> These two sons of Spânsnâyôs were the *spiritual* chiefs, or

dered (*tagidō*) in search of wisdom and have proceeded unto Frashôstar<sup>1</sup> of the Hvôbas<sup>2</sup>.

25. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### *Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The twenty-first fargard, *Vahistôisti*<sup>3</sup>, is about where the best prayers<sup>4</sup> of the good religion are: unto Mitrô<sup>5</sup> once every night for dismissing and lessening Wrath in the whole world, and a second time for doing so with Lethargy; a third unto Srôsh<sup>6</sup> the righteous, and the fourth is the Dâhmân Áfrîn<sup>7</sup> for further gifts and increasing gifts; and the most

supreme high-priests, of the two northern regions, Fradadafsh and Vîdadafsh. They are named Spîtôid-i Aûspôsinân and Aêrêzrâsp-i Aûspôsinân in Bd. XXIX, 1; and the statement that they came from Mâzendarân, made in the text here, identifies that country with the two northern regions. The names of these two high-priests are evidently derived from the Avesta genitives Spitôis Uspâ-snaos and Erezrâspahê Uspâsnaos in Yt. XIII, 121, persons concerning whom it is only stated that their fravashis, or guardian spirits, are to be reverenced.

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Av. Hvôva, the family name of Frashôstar, Gâmâsp, and several other ancient personages (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 25).

<sup>3</sup> The appellation of the fifth Gâtha (Yas. LIII) which begins with the words *vahistâ istis*; it is here written *vahistôk-istô* in Pahlavi.

<sup>4</sup> The Pahlavi explanation of Av. *vahistâ istis*.

<sup>5</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

<sup>6</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

<sup>7</sup> ‘The blessing of members of the community.’ The Dahmân Áfrînagân consists of Yas. LX, 2–7 with Âf. I, 14–18; but the Áfrîn is another formula, otherwise called ‘the Áfrîn of the seven Ameshâspends,’ and it is uncertain which of the two is meant here.

preservative of them was the Dâhmân *Äfrîn*. 2. And this, too, that the most admirable of shapes of women *was Hûmâî*<sup>1</sup> of the noble family of Vistâsp, of horses the splendid horse of Vistâsp, of oxen the male ox *Barmâyûn*<sup>2</sup>, of sheep the very much celebrated<sup>3</sup> sheep that is fat, white-jawed, *and* star-spotted, *with its* upper half in a manufacture (*pasakhtak*) embroidered with gold and the topmost part yellow; and yet not one of them attains an equality to even a single thousandth *part* of the glory of a righteous man, a member of the community, by whom the Dâhmân *Äfrîn* of the good *is uttered*. 3. And this, too, as much as *its* goodness for the man and *his* wife is *its* evil for a villain and *his* paramour<sup>4</sup>.

4. About the exercise of sovereignty *by Kât-Üs*<sup>5</sup>, with triumph, over the earth of seven *regions*; the advancement of his commands, by the people of the creation<sup>6</sup>, more swiftly than a wave of the hands; the construction of his seven dwellings (*mân*)<sup>7</sup> in the midst of Albûr'z<sup>8</sup>, one of gold, two of silver, two

<sup>1</sup> Av. (gen.) *Humayau* of Yt. XIII, 139.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XXI, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *frêh-ôkhtar* (for *frêh-ôkhtar*), as Bd. XXIV, 3 states that 'the black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep.' It might be 'the sheep of Frashôkhtar,' and this name might be a miswriting of Frashôstar, but we have no record of any such sheep of his.

<sup>4</sup> It is easy to trace a connection between §§ 1, 2 and Yas. LIII, 1, and between § 3 and the Pahl. version of Yas. LIII, 6 a.

<sup>5</sup> Av. *Kava Usa* (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 13).

<sup>6</sup> K has 'by demons and men.'

<sup>7</sup> Probably the origin of the legends of the seven halting-places of Rustam and Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

<sup>8</sup> Here meaning the mountain-range south of the Caspian (see Chap. XX, 3).

of steel, and two of crystal (*âvgînakînö*) ; the restraining of the many Mâzônik demons<sup>1</sup> who are the ruin of the world, and confining *them* to their own duty ; the arrival at those dwellings of his, and the swift winding (*vâfînidanö*) around those dwellings, of a person whose strength is overpowered by decrepitude, and the approach of *whose* life to departure from the body *has* taken place ; the reduction (*khû-sânî-hastanö*) of the decrepitude thereby, and the return of his strength and manhood, that is, a command is given by him thus : ‘Keep no people away at the door !’ and he might make a domestic of fifteen years *of age*.

5. Afterwards, the consultation of the demons about the death of Kâi-Ûs, and the coming of Aeshm<sup>2</sup> to Kâi-Ûs, approving his death, and, therefore, making *him* wretched in his mind *about* the great sovereignty which *was* possessed by him over the seven lands, and causing him to long for the sovereignty *of* the heavenly region (*âsâmânö gâs*) of the archangels<sup>3</sup>. 6. And, owing to the seductiveness of Aeshm, and the other demons who remained his co-operators for that undoing, Kâi-Ûs *was even engaged* in opposing and molesting the sacred beings. 7. Also his not returning across Albûr’z, *but* rushing upwards, with many demons and wicked people, unto the *outer* edge of darkness<sup>4</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Av. Mâzainya daêva, the idolators of Mâzendarân.

<sup>2</sup> The demon of wrath (see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.).

<sup>3</sup> §§ 5-9 are evidently a summary of the original form of the legend of Kâvûs’s attempt to reach the sky, otherwise described in the Shâhnâmah. -

<sup>4</sup> Where the endless light commences. Reading par-i tom ; or it might be ‘to the utmost,’ if we read frêtum as equivalent to frêhtûm.

and the reason of the glory of the Kayâns<sup>1</sup> becoming a figure of clay on that border. 8. The previous separation (madam rîgi-hastanö) of Kâi-Ûs from the troops, and his not turning from that ill-advisedness even on renewed strife aloft<sup>2</sup> with the supreme sacred beings. 9. Afterwards, the creator's calling back the glory of the Kayâns to himself, the falling of the troops of Kâi-Ûs to the earth from that height, and the flying of Kâi-Ûs to the wide-formed ocean<sup>3</sup>.

10. This, too, it says, that, besides him, some one<sup>4</sup> flew behind him, thus associated with him; and after him flew Nêryôsang<sup>5</sup>, the promoter (frêhdâdâr) of the world, for diverting that person from him. 11. And the cry of him, the unborn Khûsrôî, who was thus associated with him, like that of a regiment (sipâh) a thousand strong, was thus: 'Thou shouldst not smite him, O Nêryôsang, promoter of the world! for if thou shouldst smite this man, O Nêryôsang, promoter of the world! there will not be afterwards obtained, for acquirement, a

<sup>1</sup> K omits 'of the Kayâns.' It is the royal glory of Yt. XIX, which descended from heaven and accompanies the faithful rulers and champions of the religion, successively (see Chap. XXIV, 3).

<sup>2</sup> B has 'pitying strife;' khvâparîk being written instead of avarîk.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning the Caspian, as in Chap. XXI, 17.

<sup>4</sup> It will be seen, from what follows, that this was the fravashi, or guardian spirit, of his future grandson, Kâi-Khûsrôî. Every being and object belonging to Aûharmazd's creation is supposed to have its spiritual representative, created before the universe and perpetually existing (see Bd. I, 8; Mkh. XLIX, 23).

<sup>5</sup> Av. Nairyôsangha, an angel who is supposed to be the usual messenger of Aûharmazd to mankind (see Byt. III, 25, 26, 59, 60). K has only 'besides him and behind him flew Nêryôsang.'

thorough destroyer of the high-priest of Tûrân<sup>1</sup>; because owing to this man will be born him whose name is Siyâvakhsh<sup>2</sup>, and owing to Siyâvakhsh I shall be born, who am the Khûsrôî who will entice the most heroic<sup>3</sup> one of Tûrân—who is mostly the destruction of champions and troops—to the numerous heroes of the religion, so that I may accomplish the destruction of his champions and troops, when<sup>4</sup> I would occasion a distant flight of the sovereign of Tûrân.' 12. Through these words the guardian spirit of Khûsrôî delighted Nêryôsang, the promoter of the world; and, on these words, the latter was releasing him and that Kâî-Ûs who thereby became discreet.

13. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### Sûdkar Nask.

1. The twenty-second fargard, Airyaman<sup>5</sup>, is about the meeting of Kâî-Khûsrôî<sup>6</sup> and Vâê, the long-continuing lord<sup>7</sup> next to the renovation of the

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 15.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 14.

<sup>3</sup> A single particular hero appears to be meant, although this is not quite certain.

<sup>4</sup> Assuming that mûn, 'who,' stands for amat, as in Chap. XIII, 2.

<sup>5</sup> The appellation of Yas. LIV which begins with the words â airyemâ ishyô; it is here written aîrêmanô (B) and aîremanô (K) in Pahlavi.

<sup>6</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Pahl. vâê-î dêrang-khûdâî=Av. vaya dareghôhvadhâta who is mentioned as a good spirit in Ny. I, 1. There are, how-

universe; and Kai-Khûsrôî's asking Vâê, the long-continuing lord, about his smiting so many of the ancients who have been the highest of mankind in splendour and glory. 2. The reply of Vâê, the long-continuing lord, about his smiting them; and, upon that answer, Kai-Khûsrôî's taking Vâê, the long-continuing lord, and transforming *him* into the shape of a camel, mounting *him*, and going, with the Irânian levies (*hangamanôikân*), to the place where the immortal Haoist, *son* of Geurva<sup>1</sup>, lies in strength<sup>2</sup>, and his letting him lie; also *his* going beyond (*kâdmon*) him to the place where Tûs<sup>3</sup>, the banisher of strife, lay in strength, and his letting him also lie; and his going beyond him to the place where Kai-*Apivêh*<sup>4</sup> lies, and his letting him also lie.

ever, two Vâês (see Dd. XXX, 4; Mkh. II, 115), the good Vâê who assists the departed soul, and the bad Vâê who opposes it; the former is closely connected with the angel Râm in Yt. XV, o, 58, and the latter with Astô-vîdhôtu, the demon of death, in Vend. V, 8, 9; Bd. XXVIII, 35. They appear to be personifications of the upper and lower air, respectively; the former being considered pure through its connection with the sacred beings, and the latter impure through contamination by the demons. Possibly the legend about Vâê in our text may have been suggested by the words *vayû-beredubyô* and *vayôî* in Yas. LIII, 6, 7; in which case, this *fargard* must be considered, to some extent, as a continuation of the preceding one. According to Dd. XXXVI, 3 Kai-Khûsrôî was made to pass away by Vâê.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Av. Yûsta Gâurvayana of Yt. XIII, 118. But Yôista Fryâna, of Yt. XIII, 120, is one of the immortals mentioned in Byt. II, 1; Dd. XC, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *hang*, which can also mean 'a cave;' but we can likewise read *hûg*, 'spiritual life.'

<sup>3</sup> Av. Tusa of Yt. V, 53, 58; he is one of the immortals mentioned in Bd. XXIX, 6; Dd. XXXVI, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Av. Kavi Aipivanghu of Yt. XIII, 132, XIX, 71. He was son of Kai-Kavâd, brother of Kâi-Ûs, and great-grandfather of Vistâsp's grandfather (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28, 31, 34).

3. His proceeding beyond them, and meeting on the road with that beneficial victor Sôshâns<sup>1</sup>, and *being* asked by that beneficial victor thus : 'What man art thou who sittest aloft on Vâê, the long-continuing lord, so that thou makest Vâê fly, the long-continuing lord transformed into the shape of a camel ?' 4. The speaking of Kai-Khûsrôî, in reply to Sôshâns, thus : 'I am Kai-Khûsrôî.' 5. The extolling of Kai-Khûsrôî, *by* Sôshâns, as regards his *having* extirpated the idol-temples on the shore of Lake Kêkast<sup>2</sup>, and his smiting the wizard Frâsiyâv<sup>3</sup>.

6. The glorifying of the Mazda-worshipping religion *by* Kai-Khûsrôî ; the coming of the powerful being Keresâsp<sup>4</sup>, club in hand, advancing towards them at the dwelling of that wizard Ges<sup>5</sup>; the standing up of Tûs, the banisher of strife, and his calling to Keresâsp for reliance upon the Gâtha lore and *for* union with them; and the praising of righteousness<sup>6</sup> *by* Keresâsp, and his throwing *away* the arm-breaker.

7. As to these, too, it says that so those men come together *for* producing the renovation of the universe *who* are mentioned in this fargard, and also in other places, *and* are all experienced *and* eminent

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the present Lake Urumiyah (see Bd. XVII, 7, XXII, 2; Mkh. II, 95).

<sup>3</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 11.

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. XV.

<sup>5</sup> Written 𐎦, but the reading is uncertain; possibly the name may be connected with 'the Veskô progeny' in Chap. XV, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Reciting the Ashem-vohû formula, as a token of adhesion to the religion.

doers, and all powerful *and* brave; and they shall produce the renovation through a desire for an existence undecaying, immortal, hungerless, and thirstless for ever *and* everlasting.

8. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1. Of the Varstmânsar<sup>1</sup> there are twenty-three fargards, *and* the first is the Aêthrapaitis<sup>2</sup>, on the asking of Zaratûst, by Maïdôk-mâh<sup>3</sup>, about the nature of the birth of Zaratûst, and his coming to the religion.  
 2. And the reply of Zaratûst about the combative coming together of the life-causing and death-causing spirits at his birth<sup>4</sup>. 3. This, too, that when the fellow-villagers<sup>5</sup> of her who bore *him* saw his head<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The second of the Nasks and third of the Gâthic division (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 9, 12). It is a second commentary on the Gâthas, devoting a fargard to each hâ of the Gâthas and to each Gâthic formula, as in the Sûdkar Nask, but beginning with an extra fargard about the birth and calling of Zaratûst. Its chief object appears to be the quotation of texts, both from the Gâthas and from sources no longer known.

<sup>2</sup> Here written asrapâîtôs (B) and asrapâîtis (K) in Pahlavi, which, no doubt, stand for Av. aêthrapaitis, Pers. hêrbad, 'a Zoroastrian priest.' This name may either refer to the general subject of the fargard, or have been the first word of its Avesta text; as it seems not intended to quote any section of the Yasna, although the guardian spirits of the priests are reverenced in Yas. XXVI, 7, 8, before commencing the recitation of the Gâthas.

<sup>3</sup> Av. Maidhyô-maungha; he was first cousin of Zaratûst, and also his first disciple (see Bd. XXXII, 2, 3; Zs. XI, 10 n.).

<sup>4</sup> B has 'at the birth of his life.'

<sup>5</sup> B has ham-visagîh, K ham-disagîh.

<sup>6</sup> Assuming that vagânô stands for vagdânô, which word occurs in § 4, according to K.

*they considered it the shoulder of<sup>1</sup> Arekdviksûr<sup>2</sup>, and his chest and back those of Aharisvang<sup>3</sup>, and when they saw his full<sup>4</sup> bosom they considered it that of the spirit of liberality<sup>5</sup>; and by his side was the Kayân glory<sup>6</sup> to rub (mûstanô) his bosom.*

4. The speaking of Zaratûst spiritually, on the grievous bringing forth of *his* head<sup>7</sup>, thus : ‘As a spiritual lord is *my* desire, do thou who art the Zôti speak forth to me<sup>8</sup>;’ and the reply from Aûharmazd thus : ‘So shouldst thou be the priestly master as regards whatever righteousness I speak forth with righteous intelligence; thou art of very much value, thou *art* very righteous, thou *art* most intelligent, and thou *wilt* state the religion of the Mazda-worshippers to creatures of every kind.’ 5. Through that saying an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, just as from a mighty chief warrior of Kai-Vistâsp<sup>9</sup>, like him in a mountain dwelling (garânô mâñ) who *has* shot an arrow for an attack (patkopisnô) opposing those in coats of mail. 6. The evil spirit grumbled (dandidô) to the demons thus : ‘Evil *has* it become *for* you *who* are demons, but

<sup>1</sup> B omits ‘the shoulder of.’

<sup>2</sup> Av. Aredvîsûra of Yt. V, a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters.

<sup>3</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Pahl. aûrûkspar=Av. uruthware.

<sup>5</sup> Av. Râta, who is associated with the archangel Speñta-Ârmaiti in Yt. II, 3, 8; Sîr. I, II, 5, and with Ashi Vanguhi in Yt. XXIV, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Av. kavaêm hwarenô (see Chap. XXII, 7).

<sup>7</sup> B has ‘whenever *his* birth occurred.’

<sup>8</sup> This, with the first clause of the response, is the Pahlavi version of the concluding formula of Yas. XXVI, 11, without the extra Pahlavi glosses.

<sup>9</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1-4, XIII, 15.

you are unobservant.' 7. Even so Zaratûst proclaimed life *free* from the control of the demons, when this same *saying was* uttered by him, thus : 'As a spiritual lord is *my* desire ;' and, *at* the falling of the demons upon Zaratûst for *his* destruction, an incarnation (*tanû*) of *its* spiritual existence stood opposed to them, in that weapon *proceeding* from Zaratûst, to keep them back.

8. And he spoke again thus : 'The religion of the benefitors progresses there in him who, through good actions, *has* joyfulness owing to his righteousness<sup>1</sup> ;' and, through that saying, an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, equal to ten *of* that which *was* first spoken, and, *at* the falling of the demons upon Zaratûst for *his* destruction, it stood spiritually opposed to them, and that weapon *proceeding* from Zaratûst kept *them* back.

9. The third utterance of Zaratûst, on the bringing forth of *his* arms, *was* thus : 'That which the first existence produced is to be so practised, with attention, through actions to be concealed *by* him who is a priestly authority (*radô*)<sup>2</sup> ;' and through that saying an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, equal to one hundred *of* that which *was* first spoken, and, *at* the falling of a demon upon Zaratûst for *his* death, *its* spirit, *as* a sacred being, kept the demon away from Zaratûst.

10. And, when the whole body of Zaratûst *was* brought forth, trouble (*âsipô*) fell among the demons, and the demons rushed back to hell in haste ; light

<sup>1</sup> This is the Pahlavi version of Yas. XXXIV, 13 b, without the glosses.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Pahlavi version of Yas. XXXIII, 1 a, b, without the glosses and incomplete.

increased among the creatures, and every creature of the beneficent sacred being is pleased and talked of virtuous conduct. 11. And Aûharmazd took away Zaratûst with joyfulness to provide security for *him*, and Arekdvîksûr, Aharîvang, and the primitive and Kayân glory *in* the body of Zaratûst spoke to Zaratûst of *its* production *by* Aûharmazd thus : 'Thou shouldst think of him who is wise.' 12. Thereupon Zaratûst spoke spiritually, *in* reply, thus : 'I am a Mazda-worshipper, I profess the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst<sup>1</sup>; and this *means* that I am an apostle of Aûharmazd, and am sent *by* Aûharmazd.'

13. And Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst thus : '*As to* the sacred beings *of* the worldly *existence*, do thou beg companionship from them ; *but as to* the demons, do thou long for (dôsh)<sup>2</sup> separation from every one of them ; practise good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and abstain from evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.' 14. Also about vigilantly reverencing the sacred beings, and the reward thereof; not strengthening the vile, nor weakening<sup>3</sup> the good ; expounding *for* the disturber of religion (dêñô-padrêsh), and producing liberality for the accepters of religion ; and not turning *away* from the religion on account of fondness for body and life.

15. The accepting of such advice spiritually *by* Zaratûst, and his glorifying Aûharmazd, for crea-

<sup>1</sup> This is the Pahlavi version of part of Yas. XII, 7, 8 (XIII, 25 Sp.) without the glosses.

<sup>2</sup> B has 'hope for' (nyôsh).

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that nizôrînîdanô (K) stands for nizârînîdanô ; B has zôrînîdanô, which is synonymous with the previous nîrû-kînîdanô, 'strengthening.'

tiveness, sovereignty, and all goodness, and the primary archangels *and* other good creations, each separately, for their own special glory<sup>1</sup>. 16. And, afterwards, the grumbling of the evil spirit maliciously, at that vexation, thus : ‘ I have produced, for the annoyance<sup>2</sup> of *any* upholder of that religion of thine, 99,999 wizards, 99,999 wolf-worshippers<sup>3</sup>, and 99,999 apostates.’

17. Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst thus : ‘ Maintain this religion steadfastly, for through the assistance of this religion I, who am Aûharmazd, *will* be with thee, and the omniscient wisdom becomes thine, and extends to thy disciples, Maîdôk-mâh<sup>4</sup>, Parshad-gâvô<sup>5</sup>, Sêñô<sup>6</sup>, Kai-Vistâsp, Frashôstar, and Gâmâsp<sup>7</sup>, the teacher of public observance and will to the righteous, *besides* many of the people who are diligent and even those who are idle, and their good works and praise *will* be owned by thee.’ 18. Like-

<sup>1</sup> Or it may be ‘ in his own particular soul (*nisman*).’

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. rêshidârîh, which B omits.

<sup>3</sup> This term, gûrg-yazakô (=Av. vehrkayâza), does not occur in the extant Avesta.

<sup>4</sup> See § 1.

<sup>5</sup> Av. Parshad-gau of Yt. XIII, 96 (compare Pâz. Parsadgâ of Bd. XXIX, 5). This name can also be read Fradâdayânô and be compared with Av. Fradhidaya of Yt. XIII, 97.

<sup>6</sup> Av. Saêna of Yt. XIII, 97, who is said to have ‘ first set forth upon this earth with a hundred disciples.’ Further details about him are given in Chap. XXXIII, 5. In the third and seventh books of the Dînkard his name is written Sêñôv (for Sêñôk or Sêñôê) which has been read Dâyûn by Peshotan (Dk. pp. 308–314 of English translation), as pointed out by Darmesteter in his *Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme*, p. 3, n. 2. In Dk. VII he is said to have been a high-priest who was born in the 100th year of the religion, and died in its 200th year.

<sup>7</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

wise about the worldly display of the religion to Zaratûst by Aûharmazd, the accepting of the religion by Zaratûst through recitation and faith, and the reverence of the Ahunavair<sup>1</sup> by Zaratûst.

19. Also about Aûharmazd having created the creatures in the spiritual *existence*, and their allotment out to the worldly *existence*, the superiority of the righteous man as compared with other creatures, and, among mankind, of him who is relying on the provisions of the law and its unchangeableness from goodness, and who is a teacher and provider of teaching as to the pre-eminent existence of the good religion of the sacred beings.

20. And a summary about the bringing together of that fire which is the residue of a fire in a house, for the reverence of that water which is nearest to the dwelling, and of any spirit of a kinsman; and as to him who leaves that fire, water, and spirit, and, on account of a similar desire, reverences another fire, water, and spirit, but none of them can accept that ceremonial, and the acceptance of that man's ceremonial by the others will have occurred just when the former three are reverenced by him.

21. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The second fargard, Yathâ-ahû-vairyô<sup>2</sup>, is about the worthiness, as to worldly and spiritual virtue, in a ruler and in the production of a high-

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<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

<sup>2</sup> The Ahunavair (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7) upon which this fargard is a commentary quoting some text on the subject in § 2.

priest's efficiency; *and* they have been suitable for leadership and priestly authority with whom *there is* an existence of it; *also* other talent through which sovereignty and priestly authority are appropriated, and *which* the ruler or high-priest himself possesses.

2. 'My wish (dôsh), O Zaratûst! is *that* thou be in spiritual lordship and priestly authority, because thou art, O Zaratûst! provided with a spiritual lord *and* possessing priestly instruction—that is, they consider thee, too, as high-priest—and it is because thine is the accomplishment of rites, that thou art quite preserved when *there is* an encounter of the demons with thee—that is, a dispute of apostates with thee.' 3. It is non-possession of a ruler and high-priest, *or* non-possession of a ruler<sup>1</sup>, *that* became the nature and law of the demons; and the maintenance of Aûharmazd *and* the archangels, as ruler and high-priest, and the dominion of Aûharmazd *are* combined with beneficence.

4. This, too, that through righteousness a priestly instructor (radö) is a ruler at will, a sage and benefactor, a cherisher and cleanser (âsnîdâr) of the poor; also the fitness for the supreme heaven (garôdmânîkîh) of all those who *are* accepting the religion which *proceeds* from Zaratûst.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The third fargard, Ashem-vohû<sup>2</sup>, is about

<sup>1</sup> K omits these five words, and B has a blank space for the letters khûd in khûdât, 'ruler.'

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. III, 1 n.

admonition as to the praising of righteousness, which is itself the production of true awe of Aûharmazd, the perfection of existences, the better state of prayers<sup>1</sup>, and the greatest assemblage of righteousness, good breeding, humility (*avōpatagīh*), awe of the spiritual *existence*, extreme joyfulness, and comfort and enlightenment of soul. 2. *Also* the equipment (*padmūkīh*) of him who is practising as a high-priest is righteousness and the maintenance of the worship *and* obeisance for the spirit of righteousness.

3. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### *Varstmānsar Nask.*

1. The fourth fargard, Yênhê-hâtām<sup>2</sup>, states that Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân thus: ‘Utter the words of the ceremonial *and* obeisance *for* us who are Aûharmazd *and*<sup>3</sup> the archangels, because they are, *O* Zaratûst! thy ritual *for* water<sup>4</sup>, ritual *for* plants, ritual *for* a guardian spirit of the righteous, and ritual *for* an angel of a spiritual *existence*, or who is even appointed for a worldly *existence*.’

2. And Zaratûst spoke thus: ‘I will utter the words of Aûharmazd, which are opposed to harm

<sup>1</sup> K omits ‘of prayers.’

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. IV, 1 n. The texts quoted in this fargard appear to be no longer extant.

<sup>3</sup> B omits ‘Aûharmazd *and*’

<sup>4</sup> K omits ‘ritual *for* water.’

*and are the ordinance of Aûharmazd, those of the ceremonial and obeisance for you who are archangels.'*

3. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

### CHAPTER XXVIII.

#### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The fifth fargard, Yânim-manô<sup>1</sup>, is about the beneficence *and* worthiness of Zaratûst, through the virtuousness of his thoughts, words, *and* deeds<sup>2</sup>; the priority of Aûharmazd<sup>3</sup>, and the first possession of obeisance (nîyâyisnô) to him; the mindful performance of obeisance *to* the sacred beings, *and* all the merit *of* obeisance *to* the sacred beings; the excellence of receiving a righteous man, *of* bringing fire together, and *of* maintaining the good religion; the elementary (khâm) wisdom<sup>4</sup> of the creator, and the consideration of every duty towards his will and creation; the outward indication as to propitious discrimination and *of what* is done *by* those who are propitious; *and* the existence of every kind *of* self-attraction *by* Zaratûst towards the religion, from first to last, through the complete reasoning thought that arose solely through obeisance *to* the sacred beings.

2. This, too, that 'thou art come to the supreme heaven (garôdmân)<sup>5</sup>, O righteous Zaratûst! thou

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. V, 1 n.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, o.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 1 b.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1 c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 4 a.

art aware of the deeds, *O Zaratûst!* which *were* practised by those in the bodily existence, *and* which still they practise, and the sacred beings *have* placed upon mankind acquiring the power of good works.' 3. And about the wonderfulness of the supreme heaven *there is* this, too, that whoever is in that abode is not any one *that* passes away after *his* birth; at the time of the renovation *of the universe* the supreme heaven is lowered down to the star station<sup>1</sup>, the earth *being* up to there, and Vohûman<sup>2</sup> is summoned for every purpose to the conference, and, when they call him, Mitrô's<sup>3</sup> investigation as regards the existence of righteousness is on the spot; through the coming of that archangel<sup>4</sup> of true statements for assistance, and through the co-operation of the *other* archangels and Srôsh<sup>2</sup> the righteous, is the overpowering of the vexing of distressers<sup>5</sup>; and the assistance of the archangels for Zaratûst *was* when he went forth for disabling the vicious law of Irân. 4. Concerning Zaratûst *there is* this, too, in the words of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Thou art our own, *O Zaratûst!* and this liberality *to* thee is ours; anything *one* gives to thee is given by him *to us*;<sup>6</sup> also the announcement to Zaratûst, *and* the bringing of *him* to Vistâsp<sup>6</sup> for his assistance and 'likewise the strength<sup>7</sup> of his sovereignty for him.'

<sup>1</sup> The lowest grade of heaven (see Sls. VI, 3 n).

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 for both angels.

<sup>3</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Vohûman. <sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 6 c.

<sup>6</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1; and compare Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 6 b, 7 b, c.

<sup>7</sup> So in K, but B has 'also his announcement on *being* brought to Vistâsp, and Zaratûst *was* an assistance to him *and* the strength, &c.'

5. The discipleship and veneration of Frashôstar<sup>1</sup> also, and the laudation of Frashôstar for making the religion progressive and *for its* true transmission in the words of Aûharmazd; also the whole righteousness of those whom Frashôstar attracted to the religion.

6. About the laudation of Zaratûst *there is* this, too, that is : ‘*Thou art* not astray *from* us, neither in life, nor in enquiry, nor *in* openly announcing, even when demonstrating<sup>2</sup> the religion to others, nor in anything whatever, *O Spîtâmân!* *from* us who are archangels ; and the donation of benefit to suppliants is the food, and the clothing for us, who are in the ceremonial *of* the sacred beings, is unworn (*asûdakō*)<sup>3</sup>.’

7. About guarding a friend, managing an unfriendly *person*, and affording a person shelter for the sake of protection, justice, and rectitude<sup>4</sup>; also the unworthy condition of that man who, requiring to perform those duties and good works that are important, shall perform those that are trivial. 8. And this, too, that is : ‘*Thou art* likewise aware, *and thou also understandest* it, *O righteous Zaratûst!* through the sagacity of my wisdom, which was the first among existences<sup>5</sup>, and which is also so unto the last existence.’

9. Righteousness is excellence *that is* perfect.

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68, and compare Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 8 b, c.

<sup>2</sup> K has ‘when thou wouldest demonstrate.’

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 10 c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 11 a.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 11 c.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

*Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The sixth fargard, Khshmaibyâ<sup>1</sup>, is about the complaint of Gôs-aûrvan<sup>2</sup> to Aûharmazd, when she sat at the creation in the assembly of the archangels, as regards the abundant disease and misery which she saw spiritually *would* come upon her in a bodily existence, through beating, slaughtering, *and* wounding, stealing, plundering, and presenting, *by* him of vicious actions *and* worse desires, as a bribe to him who is an evil-ruling villain (mar), and the operation thereof: the bad ownership, wrongful investigation, false evidence, and making captive (vardakö), *by* him who is wrathful *and* oppressive through greed and envy, from the warm cowshed *and* the effective *and* diligent guardianship of the herd's dog (pasûs-haûrvô), to that which is a cold *and* hastily-constructed place; *or by* him who is seeking meat *with* a merciless hand through making *her* distantly separated from *her* young. 2. Also *their* explanation and extenuation (kâstanö)<sup>3</sup>, and the causing of misery of many kinds thereby, 'which is no affliction to them when the wind that is cold<sup>4</sup>, *or even* that which is hot, comes upon me; *which* is no affliction to them when, the *untimely offspring* of

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. VI, 1 n; it is here written khshmâîbâ (B) and khshmâîbê (K) in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XV, 3; Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Or it may be 'fining and beating,' as K has kûstanö.

<sup>4</sup> B has 'when *some* of that *which* is cold,' writing aîtô for vâdô in this first clause, and amat min for amatam in the first and third clauses.

*my womb being cast away, they slaughter me; and is no affliction to them when the serpent, the leech (khun-garâî)<sup>1</sup>, or even the foulest of noxious creatures gnaws me.'* 3. And the petition of Gôs-aûrvan was thus: 'Do not appoint me to a worldly *existence* and that awful misery, or, if thou appointest me to a worldly *existence*, produce it for me without life (aûzûstânihâ), so that I may be without feeling and may want that distressing<sup>2</sup> pain; it is created for the mighty, through whose assistance there is a capability of affording protection to me, even though the Kai and Karap<sup>3</sup> exist.'

4. And, together with the just complaint of Gôs-aûrvan, and the compassion of the archangels as to that complaint, there is then the creation of the creatures, among whom the greatest and best<sup>4</sup> is mankind, for fighting and subduing the destroyer, even though joined together with a complaint of wounding and affliction like that of Gôs-aûrvan, and Gôs-aûrvan arose with greater judiciousness than an absence of creation even with freedom from disturbance by the Kais<sup>5</sup>; on account of the necessity of preparing for the living of mankind through the assistance of cattle, Gôs-aûrvan was produced for the material bodily existence and assistance of mankind. 5. And, on account of little feeling for her worldly misery, the breeding (mâyintâdanö) of cattle was the arraying

<sup>1</sup> Doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> K has 'ill-passing.'

<sup>3</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

<sup>4</sup> B has 'of whom the best.'

<sup>5</sup> The obnoxious tribe, or class, mentioned in § 3. After the word 'affliction' K completes the clause to this point as follows:—'just as Gôs-aûrvan arose with greater judiciousness than an absence of creation even with an adversity of the primitive tendency.'

of strife; the advancement of the Mazda-worshipping religion of Zaratûst in the world by Gôs-aûrvan, on the production of Zaratûst for the assistance of cattle; and the preservation of cattle and other good creations through complete satisfaction at the progress of the religion.

6. This, too, was said to Gôs-aûrvan, that is: 'I assert unto thee the passing away of devastation, that is, the existence of a remedy for the misery owing to the evil spirit<sup>1</sup>, for which no creature would be produced by me—me who am Aûharmazd—when a remedy for the misery owing to him had not been known to me.' 7. This, too, that the wish of the evil spirit was thus: 'Thou shouldst never produce a creature, O Aûharmazd! and there should be here no spiritual lordship, no priestly authority, and no desire for perfect righteousness, or necessity for duty and good works.' 8. The enquiry of Gôs-aûrvan, thus: 'For whom am I appointed and formed?'<sup>2</sup> and the reply to her, thus: 'For him who is diligent and moderate<sup>3</sup>.'

9. Also the friend and nourishment (srâyisnô) begged for cattle by Gôs-aûrvan, the righteous man produced for the assistance of cattle by Aûharmazd, and the sweetness in water and plants for the nourishment of cattle, so that he is privileged to feed and keep cattle who gives them pasture in reality, and is also diligent in the production of cattle, that is, he gives them pasture, and is thereby proclaimed a cattle-guardian (pasûs-haûrvô) for them who makes the cattle fully develope<sup>4</sup>; and also

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 6 a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 6 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 1 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 2 b.

he who gives the wicked Wrath, the foreigner, a beating, so that he may make *him* stupefied<sup>1</sup>. 10. The development of cattle by Aûharmazd, advice to mankind as to moderate eating<sup>2</sup>, and the grievous bridge *judgment* of him who *has* unlawfully produced distress *for* the cattle whom Gôs-aûrvan is kindly regarding, with loving eyes<sup>3</sup>, in the spiritual *existence*, in bodily contact with (ham-kerpö-i) the archangels and in bodily contact with the light of the sun, so that *her* hands are more powerful; she who replies to the sacred beings, and the sacred beings reply to her<sup>4</sup>.

11. About the statements of Aûharmazd *there is* this, too, that is: 'I am a calculator of those words<sup>5</sup> by which they assert *that* the existence of worldly beings is for the sake of that of both existences; I am aware *of* the actions which are practised by those in the material existence, *both* demons and men; of whatever they practise<sup>6</sup> I am the decider *and* lord, and it is such as my will *requires*<sup>7</sup>, even for the last change of existence; and I look upon all that with that wisdom and sagacity of mine which was, which is, and which ever *will* be.'

12. The formation of a reward for worldly beings by Aûharmazd, through the propitious liturgy (mânsarspend)<sup>8</sup> which has become the precursor of the benefitors; that is, their high-priest, who *has*

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 2 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 7 b.

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. kâmakö-dôîsar = Av. vouru-dôithra, an epithet of Râta, 'liberality' (see Chap. XXIV, 3), and Saoka, 'prosperity'; but here applied to Gôs-aûrvan.

<sup>4</sup> Some words in § 10 occur also in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 3.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 4 a.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 4 b.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 4 c.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 7 a.

a propitiousness and intelligence that are all-beneficial, is he *with* the liturgy. 13. And about the uniqueness and incomparableness of Zaratûst among mankind, through *his* desire for righteousness and *his* understanding the means of defeating the destroyer<sup>1</sup> and teaching the creatures.

14. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

### CHAPTER XXX.

#### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The seventh fargard, *Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ*<sup>2</sup>, is regarding the maintenance of the worship and obeisance of the religion and the spirit of the liturgy; and this, too, that the spirit of the ceremonial of him who is a right-thinking, intelligent, and wise<sup>3</sup> man is quickly mixed up with the light of the sun, and connected with the accomplishment of the wishes and the joy of the archangels.

2. About the choice of will by mankind, and the existence of a way to reward through *their* decision.  
 3. About advice to mankind as to seeking that position in which it is possible to remain long with fondness, and *as to* reciting and teaching<sup>4</sup> the revelation of the sacred beings.

4. And, from the statement of Zaratûst, about the shouting of the demon Aresh<sup>5</sup> to mankind, *thus*:

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 8 c.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. VII, 1 n; it is here written *at-tâg-vakhshê* in Pahlavi in both MSS.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 1 a, c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 2 c.

<sup>5</sup> See Chap. XXXI, 6; the demon of envy, or malice, called Arêshk, or Arashk, in Bd. XV, 18, XXVIII, 16.

'Aûharmazd and Aharman have been two brothers in one womb<sup>1</sup>, and out of them the archangel<sup>2</sup> liked that which is evil<sup>3</sup>, through what occurs when the understanders of it have mentioned the worship of the demons and this, that, after it, you should present cattle to the planetary bodies and the demons.'

5. About the falsity of the demon Aresh, the separate origin of light and darkness, the goodness of the material *existence* of light for determining *what* is done, and the evil of that of darkness.

6. The grumbling of the evil spirit thus : 'I am he whose thoughts are evil, O beneficent spirit ! he whose words are evil, and he whose deeds are evil<sup>4</sup>; what is dark is my garment which is very thick, with lower corners where, so far as many go, it is still darker<sup>5</sup>; evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds are my food, and I love those of them who are in that place through evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.' 7. And the speaking of Aûharmazd thus : 'I am he whose thoughts are good, O evil spirit ! he whose words are good, and he whose deeds are good<sup>6</sup>; the sky is my garment, which was first produced from that substance of the worldly existences which is created as the stone above all stones<sup>7</sup>, that is, every jewel is set in it; good thoughts, good words, and good deeds are my food, and I love those of them who are in that place

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 a. This materialization of the Gâthic text, here reported as the utterance of a malicious demon, corresponds very closely with the statement of the Armenian Eznik quoted in Haug's Essays, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the arch-demon who was archangel of the demons.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 5 a.   <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 3 b.   <sup>5</sup> Referring to hell.

<sup>6</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 b.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 5 b.

through good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds.'

8. This, too, that true discrimination is not for them, the demons<sup>1</sup> astute in evil; and they never truly discriminate whose will is that of Akôman<sup>2</sup>.

9. And about the sickening (*vîmârînîdanô*) of the patron spirits of mankind, *by* the demons<sup>3</sup>, through the deceit of man towards man owing to the deceit of the demons; and the approach of mankind to evil proceedings *on the part* of the spiritual lordship, through those patron spirits<sup>4</sup>.

10. Also the sending of monarchy and the wisdom of religion, *by* Aûharmazd, for the preservation of the creatures; the recurrence of the mission<sup>5</sup> whereby *there are* injury and affliction for the demons and sovereignty again for Aûharmazd, and they possess the reward of Vohûman<sup>6</sup> and *what* is required *by* the sacred beings; and the predominance of man over demon, in the end, the good over the evil, and the righteous over the wicked; also about the nature of those *who* are producing the renovation of the universe. 11. This, too, that is a declaration: 'They are those, *O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!* who shall produce the renovation, they have escaped (*girekhtö*) among the existences, they are

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 6 a.

<sup>2</sup> Evil thought (see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3).

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 6 c.

<sup>4</sup> The ahû, or patron spirit, having become diseased and incapable of true ahvâfîh, or spiritual lordship, through the action of the demons.

<sup>5</sup> Reading *lakhvar petamî-hastanô* (or *petam gâstanô*) which probably refers to the later missions of Aûshêdar, Aûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 12-14).

<sup>6</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 8 b.

vigilant<sup>1</sup> in seeking righteousness, and gentle-voiced; and, as regards righteousness in thought, they convert into righteousness anything virtuous which belongs to them.' 12. About the statement of those praised it is recited that it is thus mentioned in the Gâthas: 'So we are with those who are thine—that is, we are thine own—by us this renovation is to be produced in the existences<sup>2</sup>.' 13. About the perpetual convocation held by the archangel regarding the production of the future existence<sup>3</sup>.

14. This, too, that he is an extender of the days of those who defeat the army of the fiend<sup>4</sup> and clothe themselves with deeds of shining light, and also those of a virtuous body, who are these: the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the man who is a ruler; with whom are Aharisvang<sup>5</sup> and the spirit of liberality (râdîh)<sup>6</sup>; they meditate with good thoughts (hû-minisnîh)<sup>7</sup> and joy, and, with pleasure to themselves, they give the world into the guardianship of Aûharmazd, and also of Ashavahist<sup>8</sup>, when they possess the religion of Aûharmazd as a ruler. 15. This, too, that he, whose thoughts are through a high-priest who possesses a patron spirit, always thinks that which is virtuous, and his sagacity increases<sup>9</sup>.

16. And about advice to mankind as to three things, through which the renovation and happy progress of the creatures arise, namely, seeking the

<sup>1</sup> Pahl. zêñ-hâvand=Av. zañangha.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 9 a.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 9 b.      <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 10 a.

<sup>5</sup> The female angel of perfect rectitude (see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3).

<sup>6</sup> See Chap. XXIV, 3.

<sup>7</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 10 b.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 10 c and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14.

<sup>9</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 9 c.

true religion, abstaining from injuring the creatures,  
*and* striving for the benefit of mankind.

17. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The eighth fargard, Tâ-ve-urvâtâ<sup>1</sup>, is about advice as to reciting<sup>2</sup> the revelation, the information therefrom for the faithful, about which *they have* to report to the unfaithful, by mentioning conspicuous specimens *and* explanatory knowledge, and *by* thinking of anything whatever which *they have* to accept, *or* even which *they have* not to accept<sup>3</sup>; *also*, for one called *to* the religion, the advantage owing to the attraction of mankind to the numerous actual discipleship of the religion, and the increasing greatness materially, and further reward spiritually, owing to the numerous discipleship; and the progress of the religion of Aûharmazd even among the irreligious (adêñôân)<sup>4</sup> and actual apostates<sup>5</sup>.

2. This, too, that the life of the creatures of Aûharmazd and also all other benefit are owing to Aûharmazd<sup>6</sup> and the inclination (kâmvarikakö) of Aûharmazd thereto; moreover, reward and recompense come from Aûharmazd. 3. And the creatures of Aharman proceed from Aharman, all misery is owing to Aharman, and Aharman becomes worse and more oppressive and a further producer of misery when they worship him.

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. VIII, 1 n; it is here written tâg-va-ratö in Pahlavi in both MSS.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 a.      <sup>3</sup> B omits these last eight words.

<sup>4</sup> K has akdêñôân, 'infidels.'

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 c.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 2 c.

4. About the continuance and arranging of both spirits as to their own creations (*stî*) and the self-acting of their own appliances ; the achievement of each one through his own natural resources and through the trifling (*gadagânîk*) operation of the other ; the spiritual lordship and priestly authority, true confession *and* the progress of the good religion, *being from Aûharmazd, and*, through enmity *to* the creatures of Aûharmazd, Aharman is contesting these. 5. Aûharmazd, for setting aside that contestor, is the producer of true intelligence, *and* gave language and also the ritual of ordeal<sup>1</sup>; the invocation of the sacred beings<sup>2</sup> for assistance, and the arrival of an angel for the assistance of the invokers; the overcoming of their affliction, the production of their immunity and even righteousness, and also *of* that good ruler<sup>3</sup> who is a reminder of Aûharmazd, and the restoration of bodies, *which is* the hope of all good creations, *are* through the sacred beings *being* invoked for assistance and *their* arrival where the diffusion<sup>4</sup> is that of virtuous knowledge through Vohûman<sup>5</sup>, the good religion which is whatever *may be* the knowledge<sup>6</sup> of all those who are, *and* were, *and* will be.

6. About the shouting of the demon Aresh<sup>7</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 3 b, c.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 a, b.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 4 c.

<sup>4</sup> K has 'ceremonial.'      <sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 5 b.

<sup>6</sup> K has hû-dânâkîh, 'sagacity.'

<sup>7</sup> The demon of envy, as in Chap. XXX, 4. The occurrence of his dialogue with Zaratûst in this place explains the word *avô* which is found twice in Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 5 b, and has been read hû-vârîh, 'good judgment,' or hû-vaharîh, 'good fortune.' In the MSS. called Pt4 and Mf4, in Geldner's edition of the Avesta, this Pahlavi word is both times separated into two thus : *avô* *vârîh* which may be read *avô* Aresh, 'to Aresh,' and the whole

Zaratûst and the reply of Zaratûst as to the advice of Aûharmazd and whatever is on the same subject, just as revelation (*dênô*) states it, that the demon Aresh spoke to him thus : ‘Then the Franâmam<sup>1</sup>, *O Zaratûst!* is *applicable* to the assembly of demons who sit in the same place three nights and four days on account of thee.’ 7. Zaratûst enquired of him thus : ‘*O Aresh, thou* most deceitful to me ! what recompense *would* there be for it *to* me, if I *should* worship you in words ?’ 8. And Aresh, the most deceitful of demons, spoke to him thus : ‘Thou *wouldst* become predominant among mankind, through producing at will among the existences just as is requisite for thyself ; and thou *wouldst* become immortal, *O Spîtâmân !*’ 9. Zaratûst also enquired of him thus : ‘*O Aresh, most* deceitful of demons ! *as to* the people by whom you are worshipped, whether for the birth of a son, *or* even for a concubine sought for enjoyment, so that *the favour* is considered by them as your property, how can any one of them be immortal ?’ 10. And Aresh, the most deceitful of demons, *could* not tell him who *had* the more intelligence. 11. So Zaratûst spoke thus : ‘I am *for* that *being* and I like him, that is, I am his

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§ 5 b may be translated as follows :—‘The gift of understanding through Good Thought is that *which* thou shouldst give unto me (that is, that wisdom thou shouldst proclaim to me as *virtuousness*), which is *to* me (through what *pertains* to it) that which is for Aresh (that is, through that wisdom which is *virtuousness* it shall become possible for me to give a reply to Aresh).’ The reply here mentioned appears to be that given in § 11 of our text ; and the name Aresh explains the word *ereshi* in the original Avesta text as meaning ‘envy’ and being equivalent to *araska*.

<sup>1</sup> The Mazda-worshipper’s profession of faith, beginning with the word *Av. fravarânê* (Yas. I, 23)=Pahl. *franâmam*.

own and would transact his affairs, and I *will* recite the law and the benedictions of the sagacious Aûharmazd, the gratifier of desires.'

12. About the deliverance of all creatures through the liturgy<sup>1</sup>, and, so long as it is continued by them, *it is* for the power through which the immortality of the separate creations is prepared in the renovation of the universe; the increase of the good creatures through the complete continuance of the liturgy, *and* the existence of purity and development of goodness in the world when he who is a good ruler arrives.

13. The arising of the spiritual creation, the first thought of Aûharmazd; *and*, as to the creatures of Aûharmazd, first the spiritual achievement, and then the material formation and the mingling of spirit with matter; [the advancement of the creatures thereby, through his wisdom *and* the righteousness of Vohûman being lodged<sup>2</sup> in the creatures,] and all good creatures being goaded (zakhami-hastanð) thereby into purity and joyfulness. 14. This, too, that a complete understanding of things arises through Vohûman having made a home in *one's* reason (vârôm).

15. About the great reward of him who shall produce benefit for cattle<sup>3</sup>; also the deceitfully and seductively assuming of religion and colouring of thought, talking of righteousness and adopting evil practices, through the recitation of righteousness even hypocritically (davânsihâ-k); *and* an instance of the reward of an undutiful (avar'zidâr) apos-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 6 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 6 c. The passage in brackets occurs only in K.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 10 a, b.

tate<sup>1</sup>. 16. About the work of the creator; *and*, for the completion thereof, the most eminent is understood *to be* when the world *and* religion *were* formed<sup>2</sup> by him, when life *was* given by him to those possessing bodies<sup>3</sup>, and<sup>4</sup> he provides instruction and employment<sup>5</sup> for it, and when spiritual life (*hûkô*)<sup>6</sup> *was* given by him to the wishful *man*, so that he may more *fully* appropriate a share of the worldly and spiritual *existences*.

17. *He* who makes complete mindfulness<sup>7</sup> lodge in *his* body consults complete mindfulness, and<sup>8</sup>, through the much investigation of *his* spiritual life (*ahvô*) and mind into the attraction of both spirits—*that* which is good and also *that* which is evil—each separately for its own appliances, and *into* the duties of the religion of *Aûharmazd*, is explaining the inefficiency of mankind, as regards the dissipation of their sin, because *Aûharmazd* is aware of all they practise, *that* which is public and *that*, too, which is concealed<sup>9</sup>. 18. The great reward of him who is liberal of gifts (*dâsar*) from his own property to a

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 10 c.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 11 a.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 11 b.

<sup>4</sup> So originally in B, but altered into ‘when,’ by the repairer of the MS., so as to agree with K.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 11 c.

<sup>6</sup> B has *kâmak*, ‘desire,’ with ‘the wishful’ in the plural, and this might agree better with Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 11 c, but not with the next clause in the sentence here, where both nominative and verb are in the singular.

<sup>7</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 12 c. This term is the Pahl. equivalent of Av. *ârmaiti* which is usually personified as the female archangel *Spendar-mad*.

<sup>8</sup> The MS. K is left unfinished at this point, merely adding the words expressed by ‘into the attraction of,’ in this translation. For the remainder of Bk. IX the only known MS. authority is B.

<sup>9</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 13 a.

righteous man<sup>1</sup>; and this, too, that whoever gives him who is wicked<sup>2</sup> a gift, for the sake of improper expectations, assists darkness and not light.

19. This, too, that the worst ruler is he of evil religion *and* evil deeds, who even for a bribe<sup>3</sup> would not occasion happiness; he who is a destroyer of an innocent *man*; also the grievous state of punishment of that person, in hell, who shall make that wicked *one* a ruler<sup>4</sup>. 20. And advice to mankind as to providing a judge and guardian over every dwelling, the probation of a man for appointment to that important duty, *and* the development of all creations in the world when its ruler is sagacious<sup>5</sup>.

21. Also causing the disturbance (va-siklinidānō) of the evil spirit for satisfying a man who is rightly thinking, rightly speaking, *and* rightly acting; the opposition to a righteous *man* of a wicked *one* belonging to the evil spirit, who is an evil-reciting and improperly-disputing apostate; the enticement (lūsinidānō) of mankind to devious ways (âvârîhâ), by an apostate, being more than that which attracts to the true way for a righteous *man*; and afterwards also, in the end, the defeat of the army of the fiend by him who is beneficial to mankind. 22. Advice to mankind about abstaining from the suite of him who is an apostate, not hearing and not solemnizing the Avesta and Zand of the sacred beings from him<sup>6</sup>; also the evil behaviour (dûs-barisnîh), slander, strife, death, and fear in the world owing to apostates<sup>7</sup>. 23. Advice to upholders of the religion about the means of thoroughly understanding apos-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 14 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 14 c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 15 b.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 15 a.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 16 a.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 18 a.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 18 b.

tates, and preparing *and* keeping a weapon for them<sup>1</sup>, so that he who is authorised *and* fearless *may be* more eager for truthful speaking; *and*, when the religion of Aûharmazd is liked by him, his truthful speaking and other righteousness have then allure<sup>d</sup> (*kâmakînîdö*)<sup>2</sup>.

24. Also *what* happens in the three *nights*<sup>3</sup>, for the assistance and preservation of the righteous, through *what is* accomplished *by* the propitious fire<sup>4</sup>; and the progress of his lamentation who deceives and vexes a righteous man<sup>5</sup>, *and* is leading the wicked *by* their own befitting deeds to hell<sup>6</sup>. 25. This, too, that the complete worthiness which *exists* in Khûrdad *and* Amûrdad<sup>7</sup> arises *in* him who maintains the prerogative which is his<sup>8</sup> through virtuousness, who must become such a friend of whatever is his own spirit, through *his actions*<sup>9</sup>, as the creator is of his own creatures. 26. This, too, that whatever is thus in the world is perfect, when every one thinks, speaks, *and* shall act just like his spiritual lord *and* high-priest<sup>10</sup>; so that a good ruler is he with whom virtuous speaking arises, as well as proper action<sup>11</sup>. 27. *And* this, too, that the lodgment of Aûharmazd in the worldly *existence* is most in the person of that ruler<sup>12</sup>, and that lodgment in him is manifest.

28. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

<sup>1</sup> Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 18 c.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 19 b.    <sup>3</sup> After death.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 19 c and Chap. XII, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 20 a.    <sup>6</sup> Ibid. 20 c.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 21 a and Chap. XIX, 1.    <sup>8</sup> Ibid. 21 b.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 21 c.    <sup>10</sup> Ibid. 22 a.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 22 b.    <sup>12</sup> Ibid. 22 c.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

*Varstmånsar Nask.*

1. The ninth fargard, *Hvaêtumaiti*<sup>1</sup>, is about the coming of three deceitful demons, and *their* making supplication (*lágak-karīh*) to Aûharmazd<sup>2</sup>, so that he should consider and reward those aggrieved by him, and it would amount to strength for them in destroying the creatures. 2. The disgorging (*akhvârdânö*) of supplication *by* those demons clamorously upwards from an abyss, *and* the statement of one that *he is*<sup>3</sup> the kindred that is undeceitful, of *another* one that *he is* the serfdom that is undeceitful, *and of the third* one that *he is* the confederacy that is undeceitful, *was* in these words, namely: ‘We are those spirits when the kinsman, confederate, and serf<sup>2</sup> do not break promises, one with the other; we are not really these that are no implements of thine, *but* our religion *and* law are thine, and we do thy will; we become assistants of *him* who is thy friend, and injurers of *him* who is thy enemy<sup>4</sup>; *and* from thee we beg a position in the existence that is best, the reward that is a reward *of* the worthy.’

3. The reply of Aûharmazd to them *was* thus: ‘You rush out, astute in evil, to the extremity (*bûn*) of that horrible gloom<sup>5</sup>; so you are all from the demon, your race is really from Evil Thought, that

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. IX, 1 n.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 1 a.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 1 c.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Pahl. Vend. XIX, 147.

<sup>3</sup> Literally ‘I am.’

is, your race is from there where Evil Thought<sup>1</sup>, as well as Lust the destroyer and also Greed the well-accumulating, *resides*, and *where*, moreover, Îndar the fighter is the spirit of the religion of apostasy and further deceives the worldly *existence* of mankind, as to proper living and immortal progress<sup>2</sup>, and first confines their thoughts. 4. He shall first do this, so that he *may* restrain the thoughts of men from virtuous things<sup>3</sup>, and their further words and perverted further deeds from the ceremonial of us who are archangels; they further lose *their* wisdom<sup>4</sup>, and further consider even as perfect righteousness that which is loved *by* the demons; they utter the false words and consecrate with the worse deeds of mankind; *and* with the holy-water which *one* consecrates most *to* you, more falsely *and* more arrogantly<sup>5</sup> than that falsity and arrogance, do they enhance the greatest ceremonial, so that they shall make more of the most. 5. Owing to discord, through that love of you who are demons, they smite with destruction *him* who shall not be a satisfaction to you in the presidency; *and* the leader they take (*girênd*) becomes a destroyer, so in the sequel, too, there is *some one* that smites *him*; even though they

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 3 a. For the demons here mentioned, Akômanô, Varenô, and *Âzô*, see Bk. VIII, Chaps. IX, 3, XXXI, 44; Îndar is the same as Andar (in Chap. IX, 1), the arch-demon who perverts from virtue and despises the sacred shirt and girdle (Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 8). With reference to the good old schism-hypothesis, that identified the Av. daêva Indra, or Andra, with the Sans. deva Indra, it is worthy of note that he is here represented as the pervading spirit of an apostate religion, and is termed the kûshîdâr, 'fighter, slayer.'

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 5 a.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 4 c.

<sup>3</sup> See Bd. XXVIII, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 3 b.

consider *him* as your follower, they shall occasion *his* destruction. 6. You are evil demons for a congregation when they speak of avoiding you, and worse for the ceremonial, *or* obeisance, when it occurs ; that which becomes all clearness *to* the utterer of righteousness, in *this* existence, you utterly destroy ; *and* the lodgment of complete mindfulness in the body is for admonition to human beings about abstaining from the demons.'

7. This, too, *is stated*, namely : 'Evil *are* you *who* are wicked *and* worship the demons with good holy-water *and* with words ; through them the holy-water obtains evil recompense, even the hell that is horrible.' 8. This, too, *he spoke*, namely : 'Concerning those malicious demons<sup>1</sup> I *will* first mention intelligibly to thee when they have come to the world, that is, first when they have rushed in, how their jurisdiction arose. 9. *For* thirty centuries<sup>2</sup> those of my world were immortal *and* undecaying, *O Zarātūst!* *but* when the thirtieth century was accomplished<sup>3</sup>, *O Spītāmān!* the sweat (*khvâe*) produced by the demons then came on to my Gâyômard<sup>4</sup>, for his affliction, so long a time as a man speaks forth these words *of* the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô<sup>5</sup>, relating to the spiritual lord and priestly master. 10. And when he issued from that sweat he was shadowless, that is, darkness had entered<sup>6</sup>; and the words of the formula (*âyîn*) relating to the spiritual lord and priestly master *were* spoken forth by me, and when

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7 a, 8 a.

<sup>2</sup> See Bd. I, 20, 21. But from § 10 it appears more probable that these are the three millenniums mentioned in Bd. I, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Bd. III, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 19.

<sup>5</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7 n.

<sup>6</sup> Bd. III, 20.

vâstârem<sup>1</sup> was uttered by me the demons then fell<sup>2</sup> into the gloom.'

11. About the harm owing to the demons this, too, *he spoke*, namely: 'The destructiveness of the evil spirit is his evil teaching *by statements*<sup>3</sup> to my creatures; and my riches (*îstö*) plundered by him are the proportion of the production *and* possession of wealth *for* which a desire exists through Good Thought; that is, when they possess *it* with propriety *it is* desirable<sup>4</sup>. 12. And mankind *were* gratified by that son of Vivanghau who *was* Yim<sup>5</sup>, and cattle *were* gratified by him, producing thus *the phrase* "you are mankind" in words, *O Zaratûst!* when he spoke to mankind thus: "You are the mankind for cattle, that is, you *who* are mankind eat meat of your own subdivision, and through subdivision by you there is a superabundant occurrence of meat<sup>6</sup>; you are mankind, neither for Greed (*âzö*), nor for Envy (*arêshkö*)<sup>7</sup>, do thou throw away the warm entrails (*taftôg rûdik*), nor do thou throw *them* away warm on account of custom (*pîsakö*), now you slay for slaughtering, so that thus *it may be* beneficial for you and your servant."

13. This, too, *is stated*, namely: 'Even that man

<sup>1</sup> The last word of the formula. In Bd. I, 21, 22 this utterance seems to be placed before the attack upon Gâyômard, but until the complete text of the Irânian Bundahis has been examined, some doubt as to the exact sequence of its statements may be entertained.

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. *zîflûnîd*, for *yîflûnîd*, formed from the aorist of Ch. *شاند*; instead of the usual *neflûnast*, formed from the preterit.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 9 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 9 b. Instead of *avôrdö*, 'plundered,' B has the mis-writing *sôrdö*, 'consigned.'

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 8 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 8 b.

<sup>7</sup> Alluding, perhaps, to the legend detailed in Bd. XV, 18, 19.

is produced for the destruction of mine<sup>1</sup>, who is possessed by the wicked evil spirit; the want of discernment of that man is a tedious life, in which the utterance of the praise of righteousness is the want of ceremonial of which a righteous man spoke thus: "At the place where their pasture is you are the mankind, the all-producer that fully develops them, and the all-collector that would thoroughly set them moving; in their pasture you are the mankind, and they all remain<sup>2</sup>; with hospitality for the body they remain on account of their pasture, and in fighting they strike their heads together; you are the mankind of their pasture, it is expedient and you deprive it of moisture<sup>3</sup> through fire; as to other things, it was also you that made one altogether believe that untrue statement which is a lie—the possession of material existence by life—owing to external seduction by the fiend who has come chiefly to you."

14. About the harm owing to the demons this, too, is stated, namely: 'Their accomplishment of arrogance over these creatures of mine, and also the unfitness for heaven (avahistih-iķ) of a righteous man, and that, too, of a valiant one, are due to the burial of a corpse.' 15. This, too, namely: 'They who drag away a corpse<sup>4</sup> are most hurtful for men, as regards the wealth of the religion in this world, and as regards sheep and beasts of burden.' 16. This, too, namely: 'As to the people, assisted by

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 10a.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, 'and they remain astonished,' (va-sipō mānēnd).

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. vīyāvānīnēd which, with vāstar, 'pasture,' occurs in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 10c.

<sup>4</sup> They who carry a corpse alone, like the iristō-kasha of Vend. III, 15.

one living in terrible difficulty, who deliver the corpse of a dead person, on a sheep or beast of burden, at a village where they shall convey it, they distress the fire and also the water flowing from the hills<sup>1</sup>, likewise those liquids of the body which are ten<sup>2</sup>, and those saps (aēvanō) of plants which are fourfold in thousands, that is, they come out a thousand at one time.'

17. 'They are giving more assistance when<sup>3</sup> it is the corpse of a wicked person; concerning them, too, I tell thee, O Zarātūst the Spītāmān! that they shall arrive in the ninth and tenth centuries<sup>4</sup> who are the spawn of the fiend (drūgō hūnōyākō) and the cesspool (rīkhādār) of the evil spirit; even one of them is more to be destroyed than ten idolators (dēviyastō) by him they shall make pure, that is, the people shall make him quite void of wealth who is a priest without recitation and commendation. 18. And they, who will be full

<sup>1</sup> Pahl. gērān-tagisnō = Av. hebvainti in Yas. XXXVIII, 3 and Av. thraotō-stād in Yas. LXVIII, 6, &c. It is the second species of liquid in Bd. XXI, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Only nine are mentioned in Bd. XXI, 1, namely: semen, urine, sweat, skin-fluid, tears, blood, oil, saliva, and milk.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that mān stands for amat as in Bk. VIII, Chap. XXI, 10.

<sup>4</sup> If these centuries are dated from 'the coming of the religion,' according to the incorrect Arabian chronology of the Bundahis, they extended from A.D. 393 or 435 to 593 or 635 (see Byt. III, 11 n.). In the ninth century lived king Yazdakard (A.D. 399-420), surnamed 'the sinner' by the priesthood because he tolerated other religions, and the heretic Mazdak who was put to death in A.D. 528. In the tenth century the Muhammadan religion arose, and the Sasanian dynasty tottered to its fall. If it were not for the manifest errors in the Bundahis chronology, this passage in our text might be important for fixing the age of the Pahlavi version of this Nask.

many *in* the future, shall bring prostration upon him who is an innocent person, the husbandman who watches the frog of the ditch (*zak-i gilûgô vazagh*) so that he *may* keep *it* away from mankind; and they execute ill-contrived commands. 19. They also produce destruction for these of mine, *and* speak of the living state, to these of my religion, thus: “When living is an expediency *it is* in our way;” they are wicked, they dwindle through greatness and even terror, that is, they shall commit sin through leadership and vassalage<sup>1</sup> who are smiting thee, and they speak folly who are smiting this pure religion of thine, *O Spîtâmân!*”

20. ‘They, too, who recite this thy revelation of the Mazda-worshippers, say *that* the distinction (*nîsôn*) of those *others* from those *who are* thine, even those whom they hurt, is this, that they plunder, they *also* think scornfully *of* this thy ceremonial, and think scornfully *of* the obeisances (*nîyâyisnô*) and *of* both those blessings from me, the Avesta and Zand which I, who am the most propitious of spirits, spoke forth to thee. 21. They also injure the ceremonial of him who is perfectly righteous<sup>2</sup>, even the obeisance arisen from a disciple of Zarâtûst the Spîtâmân; *and* they chant that which is a settled effusion (*barâ-hankhetûntô rêgîh*) that is very evil, *as* a perfect deed for mankind<sup>3</sup>, which those of very evil deeds call joy<sup>4</sup>.’

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 11a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 11c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 12 a, which has corrupted *rêgîh* into *rêsh*; the former, corresponding better with the original Av. *raunghayen*, can be compared with Pers. *rîhîdan*, *rêzîdan*; or it might mean ‘imposture,’ compare Pers. *rîgân*.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 12 b.

22. 'They seek sovereignty as a devouring (grehmakō), that is, they seek privilege for a bribe, and in their abode is he who is very evil in thought, that is, they seek with this design, that, *for* the hundred which another gives up, they *may* take two hundred away *from* the other<sup>1</sup>; they destroy the best existence<sup>2</sup>, they destroy their own souls, *and* they destroy the world of material beings.

23. Then they who are privileged shall convey that sovereignty *of* the Kik and Karap<sup>3</sup>, even those that are the worst-ruling who are in the country, unto him who is best-ruling in house, village, community, *and* province; *and* then both shall keep up an uproar, he who is well-ruling and also he who is ill-ruling, and he who is ill-ruling is beaten, and he is delivered up to the best-ruling ruler. 24. *And* then, among them, *he* who seeks for a devouring (grehmakō) of all that which is animate, as well as that which is inanimate, is *he* who is desirous of assault *and* complaint; *and* *he* who fears him who is a righteous man of mine allots *him* comfort, and is *he* who watches those who are an exposition of righteousness<sup>4</sup>, and who would be wizards *or* witches, so that *the authorities* shall inflict punishment *upon* them.'

25. And this, too, *is stated*, namely: 'The malice of many malicious *ones* demands that they shall inflict punishment *on* sinners<sup>5</sup> when they put (padmūgēnd) life into the body, that is, they give life

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 13 a; the exact meaning of grehmakō (Av. gerehma) is uncertain, and the last verb is literally 'I *may* take.'

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 13 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 14 a, 15 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 13 c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 16 c.

back to the body; but for that purpose the metal, melted forth, arises full upon the earth, which does not wreak vengeance *on* him who is righteous, and does wreak vengeance *on* him who is wicked, *when* I, who am Aûharmazd, produce the renovation among the existences<sup>1</sup>. 26. Thus, too, that *which* becomes a healthful world—a healthful one that is thus mine—never first becomes that further sick *one* which, apart from me, is even now the immortal and manifest place *where* vengeance exists<sup>2</sup>; and they become also aware, through that sovereignty of mine, that, apart from me, even now immortal is the material world of righteousness.'

27. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

### CHAPTER XXXIII.

#### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The tenth fargard, Yathâis<sup>3</sup>, is about the renovation *of the universe* in the words of Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, thus: 'I have produced the effecter of the renovation, the causer of righteousness, Sôshâns, of whom mankind say that he does not come; and yet he will come, for the righteous, with that glory *which* becomes all-brilliance.'

2. About the scrutiny and consideration for moderation in a high-priest's performance *of* every

<sup>1</sup> At the resurrection all men are said to be purified in melted metal which hurts only those who have been wicked (see Bd. XXX, 19, 20).

<sup>2</sup> That is, the earth never becomes hell.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. X, 1 n; it is here written *yasââs* in Pahlavi.

duty *there* is this, too, that the desire of that non-assailant, who is a producer of benefit among kinsmen, among confederates, *and* among serfs<sup>1</sup>, as regards anything whatever, is accomplishing the will, and is a friend, of Aûharmazd; and the spirit lodging in him is not deceived by him. 3. And advice about distance from him in whom similarity of disposition *to* the fiend and arrogance are oppressive, *and who* is scorning kinsmen, a sharp liar with serfs<sup>2</sup>, giving offence (*vêshîn-dahisnô*) *to* confederates, careless of cattle<sup>3</sup>, *and* unfriendly *to* the wretched.

4. About the bridge on which *there* is access to Aûharmazd<sup>4</sup>, *and* he who reaches the best existence is visibly, *or* invisibly, proceeding *while* offering up (*aûzdahân-sagîtûn*). 5. And the teaching of the primitive faith to Zaratûst *by* Aûharmazd, *who* remained embodying the Ahunavair (*ahûnavair-tanû*) *as* the Zôti<sup>5</sup> of the world; *and* at the time of the renovation Zaratûst, who *was* from the sons of Aêzemnô, is in the position of Zôti<sup>6</sup> of the whole

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 3 a, b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 4 c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 5 c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 6 a. It is said, in Bd. XXX, 30, that Aûharmazd comes to the world as Zôti, or chief officiating priest, with Srôsh as assistant priest, just before the renovation. Here it is not absolutely certain whether Aûharmazd, or Zaratûst, is meant as Zôti on this first occurrence of the word.

<sup>6</sup> Reading *min Aê-zemnôân pavan zôt gâs*; Ayazem being an ancestor of Zaratûst, eleven generations back, the grandfather of Spitama, and the name being variously written Aiazemn, Ayâzem, Nayâzem, and Aizim in different MSS. Another reading is *min 3 zamôn khûpô zôt gâs*, ‘from three-fold procreation, has the happy position of Zôti,’ referring to the legendary account of Zaratûst’s origin, as detailed in the seventh book of the Dînkard. The position of the Zôti is at the north end of the ceremonial area.

world; Vohûvastô, *son* of Snôê<sup>1</sup>, from the countries of those of the religion, in the post of Hâvanân<sup>2</sup>; Îsvand, son of Varâz, from the countries of Tûrân, in the post of Âtarevakhsh; Sênô, son of Hûmstûv, from the countries of the Sênân<sup>3</sup>, in the post of Frabardâr; and Vistâsp, who *was* from the sons of Nôdar<sup>4</sup>, in the post of Srôshâvar'z. 6. About the power and triumph which that ceremonial becomes, even through the all-brilliance of the immortal renovation of the whole creation in that existence.

7. This, too, that the evil spirit<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> This and the two following persons are the Vohvasti *son* of Snaoya, Isvad *son* of Varâza, and Saêna *son* of Ahûm-stûd, of Yt. XIII, 96, 97.

<sup>2</sup> In the great ceremonies of ancient times the Hâvanân appears to have been the priest who attended to the Hôm-mortar, and his position was near the north-west corner of the ceremonial area; the Âtarevakhsh was the priest who fed the fire, and his position was near the south-west corner; the Frabardâr was the priest who brought the necessary utensils, and his position was near the north-east corner; and the Srôshâvar'z was the priest who kept general order, his position being at the south end, facing the Zôti at the north end. Besides these five priests, mentioned in our text, there were three others enumerated in Visp. III, 1; Vend. V, 58, VII, 17, 18, the water-bringer near the south-east corner, the washer on the west side, and the cleanser on the east side. In modern times the Zôti retains his ancient duties of chief priest, while the Râspî (Bk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5, 9) combines the duties of the seven others, being called by the Zôti (in Visp. III, 1) to take the place of each of them in succession.

<sup>3</sup> Av. Sâininäm of Yt. XIII, 144, probably the people about Samarkand (see Bd. XII, 13 n, XV, 29).

<sup>4</sup> See Yt. V, 98.

<sup>5</sup> One folio of B is here lost, containing the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next. The passage missing was equivalent to about 100 lines of this translation, of which perhaps one-fourth belonged to this chapter and three-fourths to the next.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

*Varastmânsar Nask.*

it is possible to come through virtuous deeds *and* through virtuous thoughts.' n. And this, too, *he spoke*, namely: 'That Good Thought<sup>1</sup> of mine proceeds *and* notices the thoughts of the embodied existence, *and* of the good words and the deeds he reports again those referring to me, as often as three times in the same day, both *of those* who are liberal *to thee*<sup>1</sup>, O Spîtâmân! and *of those* who are illiberal to thee.'

o. The struggling of the demons<sup>2</sup>, for the putting down of all benefit from mankind, *has* not produced the obtainment of their capability for that benefit which arises *for* mankind through the future existence; so that that one evil is more grievous than every evil which the demons imagine for mankind, when *the latter* are frightened by them from the way of the sacred beings, and are wicked; and harder for them *are* the praisers of righteousness among the apostates *and* the rest *of* the creation, through *their* praise of righteousness, even when very many praise *it*.

p. About the progress of Årmat<sup>3</sup> and Târôkmat perpetually among the creatures, the disclosure of Årmat *to* mankind, and *of* righteousness *to* Târôk-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 7 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 10 c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 9a, 10b, 11b. Av. ârmaiti, 'devotion,' the female arch-angel Spendarmad, entitled 'complete mindfulness' in §§ 9, s. Târôkmat (Av. tarômaiti), the arch-demon of contempt and disobedience (Bd. XXVIII, 14), is her special opponent.

mat; the listening of that vile Târôkmat to falsehood, and the distance<sup>1</sup> of righteousness from him who is vile is like *that of a sheep fled* (*sîsd*)<sup>2</sup> from mankind. *q.* And this, too, that the evil spirit is beaten<sup>3</sup> by complete mindfulness, in the struggle of those having mighty ones, just as a powerful man beats him who is a reverent creation (*nîyâyîn dahisnö*)<sup>4</sup>; and the pure Zaratûst is produced by Aûharmazd, as well as the power of Khûrdad and Amûrdad<sup>5</sup>, which acts forcibly for giving value (*farg*) and preparing the creatures.

*r.* About the opposition of Aûharmazd to the demons<sup>6</sup>, and the valuation of the deeds of mankind which exist for greater jurisdiction<sup>7</sup> and more advantage of the primitive good creation; and in any doubtfulness one is to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings. *s.* About cases where the good-will of the spirit of complete mindfulness makes mankind attain to the good religion; and their spiritual joy<sup>8</sup> arises from the purification of their own religion through virtuous exercise of will.

*t.* About the desire for a reward for anything whatever, and the great advantage owing to a reward of the desires of mankind; also the appropriation of the reward through the operation of the sacred beings:—‘Even through the ruler (*pâd*) of that dominion of yours do I produce the renovation of the existences by my will<sup>9</sup>, I who am Aûharmazd.’

*u.* Excellence is righteousness that is perfect.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 8c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 9c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 10c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 8b.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 11a and Chap. XIX, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 11c.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 12a.      <sup>8</sup> Ibid. 13b.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 15c.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

*Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The twelfth fargard, the Yasna<sup>1</sup>, is about the manifestation of good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds by the religion<sup>2</sup>; the lodgment of the religion in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; *and* whoever possesses good thoughts, whoever *has* good words, *and* whoever *has* good deeds, by him righteousness and the reward of the righteous are possessed. 2. This, too, that neither is he, who is not to be born *for* Zaratûst, an issue from parents who are not righteous, nor yet is he, for him, who is a manifestation of the righteous.

3. This, too, *is said*, namely: ‘Thou shouldest give a glad-thinking desire *for* a spiritual lord, and an easy-bodied constitution, to their minds, the religion which I spoke forth *to* thee; so that the greatest, best, and most beneficial of existences<sup>3</sup>, that *are* those which cattle *are wanting* from men, *are* water, pasture, and freedom from danger<sup>4</sup>; *and* those which men *are wanting* from cattle are also food and clothing.’ 4. This, too, that that which mankind ought to give to the sacred beings is a power for completeness *of control*; and that which the sacred beings ought to give to men is ever that which is good for them. 5. And this, too, that thou who *art* Aûharmazd also suppliest *it* from those sacred beings, and thou who *art* Zaratûst also teachest *it* thoroughly to that best-ruling sovereignty<sup>5</sup> and authority.

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XII, 1 n; it is here written *yast* in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 4-6.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 13.

6. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Let no one practise ill-perpetrated deeds, even though in a wilderness when far from publicity, nor in distress, *O Spîtâmân!* because Aûharmazd, the observer of everything, is aware of them; and the rule is *that* just as any one whatever of the embodied existence thinks, speaks, *and* practises, so great is his punishment.'

7. And this, too, that the best ceremonial and obeisance<sup>1</sup> are the ceremonial *and* obeisance of a righteous man.

8. About begging for life and receiving *it*, there is this, that *it is* customarily due to two methods (*babâ*): one, through leadership of righteousness<sup>2</sup>, is that *through* which *it is* evident that *it is* owing to virtuousness; and one, through service of righteousness<sup>2</sup>, is that which is not an evidence that *it is* owing to viciousness.

9. About the case where virtuousness is producing authority over truth, and truth over the tongue, so that thou speakest words through the will of Aûharmazd.

10. And this, too, *is said*, namely: 'I am the propitious spirit who was at first *and* ever will be, and am not really deceived by anything.'

11. About fire *being given by* Aûharmazd for shelter and assistance *by* the protection of mankind; *its* maintenance and assistance *by* mankind; and the openheartedness of the spirit of fire for him who shall perform obeisance to it, and for him who is to perform obeisance to it<sup>3</sup>.

12. The work which is the greatest that exists, *and* is accomplished in the future existence<sup>4</sup>, whereby the creatures become pure,

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 22.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 6.

occurs through fire; *and one* prays for it for the sake of the requirements which mankind acquired from the sacred beings. 13. This, too, is said, namely: 'Since thou art thus, O Zaratûst! most propitiatory, that is, able to perform most for our pleasure, we are more promptly coming than Mânû-skîhar was able to come, when thou beggest of us who are archangels, O Zaratûst<sup>1</sup>!'

14. About Aûharmazd's exhibiting the creatures in the future existence to Zaratûst. 15. And this, too, namely, the all-brilliance of the earth, the all-brilliance of the cattle, the all-brilliance of the plants, and the all-brilliance of every excellence<sup>2</sup> which is a manifestation of righteousness. 16. About the worshipping of Aûharmazd by worshippers, through advancing<sup>3</sup> in the religion of Aûharmazd's covenant (*padmânô*), which gave the world his righteousness; also the good protectiveness of his rule, and of the greatness therein, is owing to it<sup>4</sup>; and the name of the ruler is Wisdom<sup>5</sup>; likewise his ceremonial—performed while the creations owing to him live, when possessing bodies and possessing life<sup>6</sup>—is a benefit to all the worldly and spiritual existences.

17. And this, too, is said, namely: 'Thou art our own<sup>7</sup>, and also our confederate, O Spîtâmân! likewise unto us thou comest with the reverence that is good<sup>8</sup>; thine, O Zaratûst! are the greatness and completeness in performance<sup>9</sup>, so that they

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 9-14. For Mânûskîhar see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 10, 12, 18.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXVII (=V), 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>7</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIX, 13.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 14.

<sup>9</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XL, 1.

become thy greatness and completeness, that is, they are thine, *O Zaratûst!* and are boundless onwards from the middle, that is, we give thee a reward<sup>1</sup> so enormous that, when thou shouldst stand in the middle of it, thou *wouldst* not see to its limits, the width of the earth, the length of a river, and the height of the sun<sup>2</sup>.

18. *Zaratûst* begged of *Aûharmazd* thus: ‘Give unto me him who becomes a disciple of men<sup>3</sup> of the mighty through meditation for the religion, *of them* who shall produce the actual progress of this my religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, *and* who *will* also explain the good practices to this *one* of mine, even the blessings set forth *by* me in the benedictions they possess.’ 19. *And Aûharmazd* spoke thus: ‘I *will* give unto thee him who becomes a disciple of other men of the mighty; they are thy kinsmen and those confederates *of* theirs, and thine are their companions and their serfs<sup>4</sup>, who produce the progress of this thy religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers. 20. Mostly thine, *O Zaratûst!* are their worship and their homage; and, through their ceremonial and obeisance, the liberality of him who is worshipped is given to thee, *and* righteousness for the soul is with thee; also thy life exists owing to us, and likewise thy body<sup>5</sup>, *O Zaratûst!* 21. Forth to thee *will* I, who am the creator *Aûharmazd*, come in both existences<sup>6</sup>, as assistance; thou becomest worthy, *O Zaratûst!* through *Khûrdad* *and* *Amûrdad*<sup>7</sup>, both of them, *and* through the gratification of

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XL, 3.

<sup>2</sup> This expression for boundless extent occurs in Yas. LX, 4, Yt. XIII, 32. <sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XL, 7. <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLI, 7. <sup>6</sup> Ibid. 8. <sup>7</sup> See Chap. XIX, 1.

me, who am Aûharmazd, by those sayings *and* deeds which I, *who* am the most propitious of spirits, proclaimed unto thee.'

22. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'They have become applicants on him who is powerful *with* thee<sup>1</sup>.'

23. *And* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Thou becomest an applicant and powerful in the embodied existence.'

24. Zaratûst spoke thus: '*Be* thou a gratification to us in the slow progress *of* life, *thou* most beneficent (hû-dahâktûm) of existences! that is, thou shouldst give to us<sup>2</sup>'. 25. *And* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'I will gratify thee, *O* righteous Zaratûst! in that best existence<sup>3</sup>'.

26. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The thirteenth fargard, Ustavaiti<sup>4</sup>, is about the great reward of him who, through virtuous procedure, may occasion the benefit of a man<sup>5</sup> *and* of the religion of righteousness also. 2. This, too, that the maintenance of righteousness<sup>6</sup> is through the practice *of it*.

3. About the tokens of a righteous man—that is, the evidence of him—and *his* reverence for duty *and* good works; also his imperceptible perversion (kastârîh)—that is, not a single sin is manifest

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLI, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 15.

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. XIII, 1 n.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 1 d.

in him—and *he is* an accomplisher of the stipulations of Vohûman<sup>1</sup>, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and a comprisal of every goodness in the propitiation of the righteous. 4. About<sup>2</sup>

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## CHAPTER XXXVII.

*Varstmânsar Nask.*

‘produced the dawn and noon-tide (aûsh râpisþ)<sup>3</sup>. e. I fashioned sovereignty and the desired complete mindfulness together<sup>4</sup>, and produced, for more advantageous disclosure, a son (bermanar-aâ) for a father<sup>5</sup>; the disclosure that discloses a male and the impregnation of a female, and in that disclosure a son was produced by me for the father, O Zarâtûst!’ f. So the evil spirit observed, and he called upwards from the abyss thus: ‘O beneficent spirit! thou art the creator of all creatures, but I will make all thy creatures old, O beneficent spirit!

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 2 d.

<sup>2</sup> Another folio of B is here lost, containing the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next. The passage missing was equivalent to about 100 lines of this translation, of which perhaps three-fourths belonged to this chapter and one-fourth to the next.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 5 d: aûshahînô va-rapîspînô = Av. ushau arem-pithwa.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 7 b.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 7 c. The verbal causative stem vindîn, ‘cause to find, or obtain, disclose,’ is twice spelt without its first letter, out of four occurrences; and bermanar is hybrid Zvâris for pûsar, in which berman = pûs.

*g.* About the religion becoming progressive<sup>1</sup> in every one, through its renovation of the universe and its future existence, *there* is this, too, namely : ‘ This thy religion of Zaratûst is the width of the world, and righteousness is the best of religions ; this thy religion of Zaratûst is the improvement of the world, which is first supplied by righteousness and complete mindfulness in the reason (vârôm) of those who recite this thy revelation (dênô)<sup>2</sup> of the Mazda-worshippers, *O Zaratûst !* this thy good religion is the best which it is possible to provide with righteousness for one’s own. *h.* Thou shouldst proclaim this to kinsmen and confederates, to priests and him who is most active in the country ; *as to those* who will dispute<sup>3</sup> this thy religion of the Mazda-worshippers, thou shouldst proclaim this over the earth of seven regions, unto that which is the furthest of houses, villages, communities, and provinces : “ Do thou openly curse<sup>4</sup> these who are heretical *towards* me, *thou* united Mazda-worship of Zaratûst, opposed to the demons, which is the ordinance of Aûharmazd<sup>5</sup> ! ”

*i.* Aûharmazd spoke thus : ‘ I will exalt this which is beloved by thee, the religion of the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst, opposed to the demons, which is the ordinance of Aûharmazd. *j.* If this which is thine had not been further loved by me, the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst, that is opposed to the demons and is the ordinance of Aûharmazd, would have lapsed into disaster (vinâsisnô)<sup>6</sup>, so that the pro-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 8 c.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 11 d.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 13 c.

<sup>4</sup> Assuming that nafôrinô stands for nafrinô.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. I, 65.

<sup>6</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 19 d.

fession of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers would be destroyed, that is, the religion would not have become progressive, *and* no one *would be* after the benefitors. *k.* But, owing to that *love*, *O Zarātūst!* the religion of the Mazda-worshippers becomes progressive<sup>1</sup> even then up to the production of the renovation of the *universe*, even then until the perpetual life of the existences, even then till the raising up of the dead, *and* even then up to the full atonement of the spirits.'

*l.* About *being* despised in hell; the wicked are scornful to a wicked *one*, *and* to the spirits *apart* from the wicked; and it is the creator who, even after saving the others from hell, and the three nights stewing in hell<sup>2</sup>, *is* to cause the preservation of them also—after those three nights—from that misery, and *every one* attains to happiness. *m.* This, too, that Zarātūst enquired of Aūharmazd thus: 'How have the ignorant demons, *O Aūharmazd!* ever been good rulers<sup>3</sup>? How do they think of them in the world thus, *that* their happiness arose from them?' *n.* And Aūharmazd spoke thus: 'They have been demons, *O Zarātūst!* *and* evil-ruling; not well-ruling, even for a reward, do they produce the work of righteousness<sup>4</sup>.'

*o.* Perfect righteousness is excellence.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 15 d, 17 d.

<sup>2</sup> The three nights' final punishment of those worthy of death, to be inflicted at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 13, 16).

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 20 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 20 e.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

*Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The fifteenth fargard, *Ad-fravakhshyâ*<sup>1</sup>, is about the seven<sup>2</sup> perfections of the admonitions of the religion. 2. First, association with the beneficent spirit of the creator, through hearing<sup>3</sup>, learning, and practising his religion; and this, too, that thereby arises the preservation of the good creation when the destroyer is separated (*vangid*). 3. Second, about separation from the destructive evil spirit<sup>4</sup>, and the contempt which is due to his arrogance and falsehood, the chief of all his vice. 4. Third, governing the temper<sup>5</sup> by good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; and this, that, whoever of you does not so use this liturgy as thought and word<sup>6</sup>, they will not allot him light, they will not allot him the best existence, and he is miserable up to the last<sup>7</sup>. 5. Fourth, about the perfection of the nature of next-of-kin marriage<sup>8</sup>, which is when it is a giving of one's own (*khûdih-dahisnîh*); and the decision

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XV, 1 n; it is here written *ad-fravakhshê* in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> Only six are numbered in our text, but the seventh seems to be detailed in § 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 1 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1 d, e.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 3 a.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 3 c, d.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 3 e.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 4 a. There is nothing whatever about next-of-kin marriage in the original Avesta text of this Gâtha, but the Pahlavi translators (in order to interpolate authority for such marriages) took advantage of the Avesta speaking metaphorically of *Mazda* as being father of Good Thought (*Vohûman*), and of Bountiful Devotion (*Spendarmad*) as being *Mazda*'s daughter; while they ignored the old tradition that *Vohûman* was created before *Spendarmad* (see Bd. I, 23, 26). A translation of the Pahlavi version of this Gâtha passage is given in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 392, 393.

given *about* it, which is the goodness of one's own progeny for the manifestation of progeny; also the relationship, sturdiness, effectiveness, advantageousness, ownership, and giving *in* next-of-kin marriage. 6. Its first accomplishment was by the creator Aûharmazd in the fatherhood of Vohûman<sup>1</sup> who was the first progeny, and from that arising of the practice (var'z-yehevûnîh) came the progress of the spiritual and worldly creatures and much connected therewith, such as the arising of splendour from light, radiance from splendour, and lustrousness from radiance, and the fully progressive diffusion and succession of mankind till the renovation of the universe; also, through spiritual and worldly passing on in the spiritual and worldly existences, Spendarmad's<sup>2</sup> acceptance of the motherly glory was an ennoblement. 7. Fifth, about providing and maintaining the high-priests<sup>3</sup> who are provided with a spiritual lord and possessing priestly instruction; the listening of his authorities of every kind to Aûharmazd, and the reward of the beneficent good works<sup>4</sup> of the high-priesthood, are authority for Aûharmazd; and the reward of the good works of the high-priesthood is their relation to the best existence. 8. Sixth, about the praise, obeisance, and ceremonial<sup>5</sup> for the creator Aûharmazd; and this, too, that further conference with Vohûman<sup>6</sup> arises, and wisdom and advantage<sup>7</sup> are taught by

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4 c.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 d.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 5 a.

<sup>4</sup> Rather doubtful, as the repairer of the MS. has omitted the first two Pahlavi letters of kîrfakô, 'good works,' when writing the word on a patch.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 6 a, b, d.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 6 d.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 6 e, 7 a.

him thus: ‘Thou shouldst be a suppliant for the immortal progress of the soul<sup>1</sup>, *O Zaratûst!* so that Aûharmazd *may be* lord of the creatures<sup>2</sup>, and the practice of propitiation *by* mankind *may be* that *for* him, also a proportion of the ordering of obeisance<sup>3</sup>.’

9. About the sovereignty of Aûharmazd<sup>4</sup>—even through the reward given *at* the bridge of judgment—which is in his good assemblies<sup>5</sup>, those of the restorer of the world, the destroyer of the evil one, and the benefiter.

10. This, too, *is said*, namely: ‘Thou becomest, through complete mindfulness, *O Spîtâmân!* a perpetual adopter (*giriftâr*) of this ceremonial of mine<sup>6</sup>.’

11. About Aûharmazd *having* given power<sup>7</sup> to the creatures, the preparation<sup>8</sup> of the power, and the contempt<sup>9</sup> *for* the evil spirit and his appliances; Aûharmazd and the creations gave that contempt back to the evil spirit and the primary (*kâdmon*) demons who are those produced by the demons.

12. About the glorification of Zaratûst *there is*

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 7 c.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 7 e.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 8 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 9 c. This appears to be the seventh ‘perfection’ mentioned in § 1.

<sup>5</sup> Assuming that hû-hambâmîhâ stands for hû-hangâmîhâ, just as hanbâm is a common variant of hangâm. It might also mean ‘good times,’ but it seems to represent the incorrect word amâvandîh in Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 9 e, which each of the four MS. authorities spells differently. Mf4 has hû-dandîh which, no doubt, stands for an original hû-zandîh, ‘good community,’ a fair translation of Av. haozâthwa, and well expressed by ‘good assemblies.’

<sup>6</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 10 a.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 10 e, in which zakö-î ought to be zôr-î according to Pt4, Mf4, with which J2 partly agrees.

<sup>8</sup> Assuming that nîvârûnö stands for nîvârðanö.

<sup>9</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 11 b.

this, too, namely: ‘Thou art beneficial, thou art high-priest and master, and through thee exists the religion which is propitious<sup>1</sup>; thou art brother and companion of all the benefitors, and thus thy friend<sup>2</sup> is Vohûman.’

13. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

### CHAPTER XXXIX.

#### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. In the sixteenth fargard, Kamnamaêza<sup>3</sup>, about departure to any land whatever<sup>4</sup>, in renewed search of fortune, there is also this, namely: ‘Do not stay away disconsately from this thy ceremonial and obeisance, O Zaratûst! through love of us, when they do not satisfy thee—neither thy own, nor the confederate, nor the companion, nor the serf, nor the wicked tyrant<sup>5</sup>—by whom those who are demons are wont to be worshipped. 2. And where and when thou art far from us, even then do not stand aloof from our affairs; and also when the affairs of the worldly existence shall not stand well for thee, even then thou shouldst reverence us and shouldst pay us homage.’ 3. So also this, that the wish of the evil spirit is thus: ‘Thou shouldst not reverence and shouldst not pay homage to the archangels; and here<sup>6</sup> the people shall possess neither lordship, nor priestly instruction—that is, ruler and

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 11 d.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 11 e.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XVI, 1 n; it is here written kâmnamézô in Pahlavi.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 1 a.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 1 b, c, d.

<sup>6</sup> In this world.

high-priest—and their desire is not *for* perfect righteousness.'

4. And this, too, *is said*, namely: 'Of the contracted<sup>1</sup> spirituality and deficient wealth<sup>2</sup>, owing to the little progress of men who are self-gratifiers, thou art aware, *O Zarātūst!* *thou* who art no seeker *of* this—that is, this want of opulence of thine—because thou dost not know *it*<sup>3</sup>; *but* I perceive those words of complaint of thine, of which I demand an account from thee<sup>4</sup>.' 5. And this, *too*, namely: 'Thou art aware *of* the gratification of desire<sup>5</sup> *by* us who are archangels, and *which* we give for the gratification that thou bringest forth (*zihīh*); we also give thee the liberty which a friend gives to him who is a friend<sup>6</sup>.'

6. About *what* occurs in *future* ages<sup>6</sup>: the experienced (*arvandān*) who are beneficial through teaching *and* practising wisdom<sup>7</sup>, and the thirst of youths is increased by them; by the assistance of complete mindfulness they improve the world of righteousness and produce distress for the fiend; and the advantage due to virtue extends to them<sup>8</sup>.

7. And this, too, that he who is evilly oppressive has died off through his own deeds<sup>9</sup>. 8. About always opposing villains with as much strength as exists, so that he who is a good ruler<sup>10</sup>, whose high-priest is the bounteous liturgy (*Mānsarspend*), may become predominant<sup>11</sup> over Wrath.

9. About the praise of the renovators *there* is this,

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that *tak* stands for *tang*.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 2 b.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 2 a.      <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 2 c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 2 d.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 3 a.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 3 c.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 3 d.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 4 c.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 4 d.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 5 a.

too, namely: 'Blessings on good understanding *and* also on Mitrô, whose punishment of sinners they shall inflict for this consideration, that *he is* intelligent *and* friendly (mitrô-pân)<sup>1</sup>' 10. And, about adjudication *as to* a kinsman (nafsmân) of any one whatever, *there is* this, too, namely: 'Through a revival of Rashnû, whoever is righteous and also whoever is wicked—that is, every one—is to be kept for judicial investigation<sup>2</sup>' 11. This, too, namely: 'A kinsman is to be considered as virtuous<sup>3</sup>, by whom his own soul is preserved from wickedness<sup>4</sup>' 12. *And* this, too, namely: 'So thy high-priest is he whose own religion is pure<sup>5</sup>'

13. About the characteristics of the fiend, the broken-down (khastakö) Mânih<sup>6</sup>, and the destruction of the wicked who *were* listening to him, that which came from him who *was* monarch. 14. And this, too, namely: 'The wicked *one*, who gives my world to that which the malicious<sup>7</sup> Aharman has established *as* supremacy (lâlâih), is he who is a self-wounding<sup>8</sup> demon that is set going for the death of the world of righteousness which he praises. 15. The cere-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 5 b. For Mitrô see Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 5 c. For Rashnû see Bk. VIII, Chap. XX, 153 n.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 5 d.                  <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 5 e.                  <sup>5</sup> Ibid. 7 e.

<sup>6</sup> The arch-heretic who was born in A.D. 215–6, first preached his doctrines on the coronation day of king Shahpur I (20th March, 242), and was put to death by order of Bahrâm I in A.D. 276–7 (see Nöldeke's Gesch. der Sas. pp. 47, 412, 415). From the mode in which he and his followers are mentioned in §§ 13–16, it would seem that the original Pahlavi version of this Nask must have been made at a time when this heresy was still fresh in men's memories, as it would have been in the first half of the fourth century, when Âtûrpâd-i Mâraspendân was collecting and revising the sacred books.

<sup>7</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 8 a.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 8 b.

monial of righteousness is not such as that he praises, *O Zaratûst!* the priestly authority of the worldly settlements (*gêhânân*) that he mentions thus : “ In priestly authority and high-priestship I am better (*sapîr*) and am better suitable ; ” and not so, *O Zaratûst!* is that excretion (*mûtrisnö*)<sup>1</sup> he stirs up for mankind ; that which he mentions to them becomes a perpetual effusion from him, and they who stirred up the excretion afterwards think it theirs, and that which is a perfect ceremonial of the demons occurs. 16. Through the opposing arrival of Srôsh<sup>2</sup>, the righteous, the ruler is in vexation with that person ; that ruler who is a protection of these *others* through good emanation<sup>3</sup>—not through evil living—and at every time a distresser of the wicked<sup>4</sup>.

17. About the peculiarity of attracters *to* the religion, and the good works of those attracted<sup>5</sup>.

18. About the signs of the last times, which are the millenniums of the sons of Zaratûst.

19. This, too, that they cause disturbance (*aâramênd*) unto the sovereignty, and they who are Kais and Karaps<sup>6</sup>, those even who are the most evil-ruling in the country—who by villainous deeds are those who destroy the existence of mankind through statements, and destroy their own souls<sup>7</sup>—also destroy the material world which, confused by them,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 10 b.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 8 c, d. This last word (*hû-zahisnîh*) ought certainly to be *hû-zîvisnîh*, ‘good living.’

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 8 e.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 10 d, e.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 11 a; also see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 11 b, c.

is more beloved than righteousness; even the sovereignty is a scanty shelter, among the existences, from those whose command is villainous, when they produce *that* which is vicious and deliver their pupils (*âmûkh tagânô*) to that which is *their* end (*afdûm*), to the fiendish abode<sup>1</sup>.

20. And here, too, about the praise of the family of the Fryânaks<sup>2</sup> it speaks thus: ‘Righteousness comes up, *O Spîtâmân!* from the descendants and posterity of Tûrân; when extracted by the Fryânaks *it* is stated<sup>3</sup> just as *though* it were by Tûrân; through the assistance of complete mindfulness they develope the world<sup>4</sup> of righteousness and produce distress for the fiend; they likewise think about *it* with Good Thought, *O Zaratûst!* and thou shouldst bring forth (*zâyêš*) their gratification<sup>5</sup> from us, who are archangels, by words, that is, do thou demand *it*.’

21. This, too, is *said*, namely: ‘This liberality which is *for* thee is *for us* who are archangels; by him who shall provide liberality for thee<sup>6</sup>, it is provided for us.’ 22. About the praise of Vistâsp there is this, too, namely: ‘Kâi-Vistâsp<sup>7</sup> has propitiated thee, among the existences, by liberal giving; that Vistâsp, whose coming forth to thee in distress is through the reign of Vohûman, has developed the material world of righteousness; thou

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 11 e.

<sup>2</sup> A Tûrânian family of Mazda-worshippers, of whom Yôista is specially mentioned in the Avesta (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 18 n); and it appears from Dd. XC, 3 that Ashem-yahmái-usa of Yt. XIII, 120 was another member of the same family.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 12 b.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 12 c, and compare § 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 12 d, e.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 13 a.

<sup>7</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

shouldst think of him, the good companion, *O Zarātūst!* the pure friend who is Kai-Vistāsp<sup>1</sup>; such is that Kai-Vistāsp, the active, who, when he praises the religion, is attracting fellow-dwellers *and converts them*, that is, he brings them on to the religion<sup>2</sup>.

23. About attracting the Spītāmas to the religion *there* is this, too, namely: ‘Thou shouldst speak thus to the Spītāmas: “Praise righteousness with much homage about *it* mentally; and a concession is to be discriminated by you, as well as whatever is no concession; even for those deeds *of* yours righteousness is the reward given unto you, that reward which is much given by Aūharmazd<sup>3</sup>. ”’ 24. About the place of the four marvels produced by Aūharmazd *in yonder world*: there where is the reign of Vohūman<sup>4</sup>, there where is the hospitality of Aūharmazd<sup>5</sup>, there where religion is *along* with complete mindfulness<sup>6</sup>, *and* there where are the souls of the liberal<sup>7</sup>.

25. About advice to Zarātūst as to speech, made for mankind, which is proportionate—abandoning want of proportion—which is an appropriation of liberality with humility and a wise proportion<sup>8</sup> for good works. 26. This, too, namely: ‘To him who gives himself mentally up to thee in discipleship, thou also shouldst give up the best which *thou hast* to give of thine own; and thou shouldst give wealth to him who shall give wealth to thee<sup>9</sup>, because so thy soul would be perfect, *O righteous Zarātūst!* when it shall act thus.’ 27. This, too: ‘Thou

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 13 e.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 14 c, d.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 15 b, c, d.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 16 d.    <sup>5</sup> Ibid. 16 e.    <sup>6</sup> Ibid. 16 c.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 16 a.    <sup>8</sup> Ibid. 17 a, b, c, e.    <sup>9</sup> Ibid. 18 a, b, c.

shouldst select this religion of mine with wisdom *and* also with thought<sup>1</sup>.' 28. This, too, that *as to* him who *has* to act with the freedom from effort (*apēsitūnagīh*) of righteousness<sup>2</sup> *and* owing to *it*, for the good works done by him the gift is good. 29. This, too, that whoever seeks by good works, *and* seeks good works by innocence, obtains freedom from harm (*a-nāsīh*); *and* whoever is liberal to the sacred beings<sup>3</sup> is free from destruction (*a-nasīn isnō*), owing to the liberality of the sacred beings. 30. *And* this, too, namely: 'These *are* the rewards I am aware of<sup>4</sup>, which have been, which still are, and which ever *will be*.'

31. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

## CHAPTER XL.

### *Varstmānsar Nask.*

1. The seventeenth fargard, Spentā-mainyū<sup>5</sup>, is about *this*, that Aūharmazd produced the creatures through wisdom, *and* maintains *them* in truth. 2. This, too, that the best thing<sup>6</sup> *for* every one is thought in a high-priest who is the tongue of a spiritual lord<sup>7</sup>; in a high-priest, who *has* to maintain thought, no appliances of the body *are* to lie unto the spiritual lord on account of affection *for* the

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 18 e.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 19 a. All but the last syllable of *apēsitūnagīh* is written by the repairer of the MS. on one of his patches, but the word is a strange equivalent for Av. haithīm.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 19 d.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 19 e.

<sup>5</sup> See Chap. XVII, 1 n; it is here written *spēnd-matō* in Pahlavi, and is called the 18th fargard by mistake.

<sup>6</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 a.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 2 b.

worldly *existence*. 3. Also that the spiritual lord is always true; of the tongue—when he (*the priest*) speaks falsehood with the tongue—are those words which he does not believe through the spiritual lord, and *it is* owing to this, too, when, of all the body, the tongue first dies. 4. ‘I say unto thee, *O* Spītāmān! that thou shouldst speak with the tongue just as thou thinkest with the mind, and thou shouldst accomplish work with both hands in complete mindfulness<sup>1</sup>.’ 5. And this, too, that he who shall act thus is sagacious, and he is the father of righteousness through wisdom<sup>2</sup>; and whoever would do that which has happened, thoroughly observes *it* on account of that *which* has not happened. 6. Also this, *that* in the person of him who shall do that which he understands, *and* asks again about that which he does not understand, the propitious spirit of wisdom is lodging.

7. About cattle *being* produced for the assistance of mankind, and the pastures of pleasure for the assistance of cattle<sup>3</sup>. 8. This, too, that the archangels injure the evil demon and wicked people, *but* they do not injure righteous people<sup>4</sup> and the sage. 9. This, too, *is said*, namely: ‘In scanty opulence do not murmur (*al mang*) owing to good works<sup>5</sup>, *and* thus in great opulence much good work arises.’ 10. This, too, that beneficence gives all to the good, *and* it is no further the villain whom the sacred beings maintain<sup>6</sup>.

11. About the tongue of a true speaker *being* given for the satisfying (*vigārisnō*) of disputants,

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 2 d.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 3 c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 4 a, b.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 4 c.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 5 b, c.

*and for* declaring who is acquitted *or* incriminated ; and the ordeal that is a demonstrator, to acquit *or* convict, which he whose tongue is truthful *has* accepted—and it shall make his statement current—*has* developed its jurisdiction in the world, *and* diminished distress. 12. *And* this, too, *is said*, that he gives out fire for disputes, so that it may make manifest the acquitted and incriminated, when he in whom are his immense complete mindfulness, and also righteousness, is guardian of the ordeal ; and, when many inspect it, that which is the ritual of the ordeal believes them wicked<sup>1</sup>.

13. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

### CHAPTER XLI.

#### *Varstmånsar Nask.*

1. The eighteenth fargard, Yēzi<sup>2</sup>, is about the existence of certain and doubtful evidence *and* indication as to the future existence<sup>3</sup> arising. 2. About the great dignity *of* the spirit of good works, *and* that also of the person doing good works through the lodgment of that spirit in him. 3. This, too, that they praise, recount, and practise the religion of Mazda-worship at the time of the renovation *of the universe*, that of which the demons through deceitfulness, and then also wicked mankind deceived by those who are demons, *have* said that it does not occur<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 6 b, c, d.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XVIII, 1 n; it is here called the 19th fargard by mistake in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1 b.

4. About the triumph of the sacred beings over the demons at the end of *various* periods. 5. First, that which *occurs* when, on account of the preservation of mankind from hell, they praise the religion of Mazda-worship; and that which *occurs* when Zaratûst the Spîtâmân, whose guardian spirit is reverenced, came to the obedient king Kat-Vistâsp<sup>1</sup>. 6. Second, when the power and triumph of renewed sovereignty are again connected with the religion, and mankind, on that account, return to the good religion; and this occurs on the near approach of Aushêdar<sup>2</sup>, son of Zaratûst, when the righteous Kitrag-miyân<sup>3</sup> arrives. 7. Third, when mankind contentedly praise the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, and this occurs as Aushêdar-mâh<sup>4</sup>, son of Zaratûst, arrives. 8. And fourth, that which *occurs* when every one shall practise the religion of Mazda-worship with eagerness; at that time arrives the beneficial and triumphant producer of the renovation, Sôshâns<sup>5</sup>, son of Zaratûst; and this becomes the consummation (sar-hômôndih) and supreme triumph of the sacred beings.

9. About enquiring of him who is acquainted with religion and a wise priest concerning the religion, and hearing of it from him<sup>6</sup>; also well understanding it through wisdom. 10. About abstaining

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 12.

<sup>3</sup> A title of Pêshyôtanû, son of king Vistâsp, who remains immortal as chief high-priest of Kangdez, whence he is expected to come to restore the religious rites in Irân and the rest of the world (see Bd. XXIX, 5, Byt. III, 25-32, 36-38, 41, 42, 51, 52).

<sup>4</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 14.

<sup>6</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 3 a, b.

from the secret proceedings (*nīhān-hōmōndīh*) of a deceitful *and* seductive apostate<sup>1</sup>. 11. This, too, is said, namely: ‘Thou shouldst also not fall into the downcast imprisonment (*nikūn alakīh*) through the teaching they deceive, where they thus mislead thee to the downcast imprisonment which is hell.’

12. About mankind attaining to the wisdom of an angel (*yēdatō dānōgīh*)<sup>2</sup> through the grades of intellect, ability, *and* religion. 13. This, too, is said, namely: ‘It is for that way when mankind cause the disturbance (*siklinēnd*) of that which is a vile religion for want of a way, when even this is produced from among the creatures, in which is the opening of a passage *for* mankind to him, where the evil spirit is dwelling *and* making thee surrender, and on account of the stupefying *Akōmanō*<sup>3</sup>.’ 14. This, too, that, through the sovereignty of sagacity, every one *at* last arrives at that way. 15. And this, too, that by him, who shall persistently perform good works or sin *with* fearlessness, it is to be hereupon considered that his performance is mindful<sup>4</sup>, *and* that the best thing *for* mankind, after birth, is purification from sin<sup>5</sup>.

16. This, too, that the food *and* maintenance of the priests depend upon the husbandmen<sup>6</sup>. 17. This, too, that coveted is now the pleasure and strength of mankind due to the cattle of Khūrdad *and*

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas., XLVII, 3 c.

<sup>2</sup> The use of ô for å sometimes occurs in MSS. from Irân. The word can also be read shavandagîh, ‘existence,’ but this meaning is less likely.

<sup>3</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas., XLVII, 4 c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 5 d.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 5 c.

*Amûrdad*<sup>1</sup>. 18. About the oppressiveness of Wrath and Envy, *and* the destruction of both through complete mindfulness and possession of Good Thought<sup>2</sup>. 19. *And this is said*, namely : 'I made the religion of righteousness a combining desire (vôyak-î hâm-dahisnô<sup>3</sup>), and all mankind's own selves *are* to be forced into that desire ; also its involuntary seeking of immortality is the reign of the will of all mankind, and advantage always arises from it<sup>4</sup>.' 20. This, too, that the care of cattle is reverence of Aûharmazd<sup>5</sup>.

21. About the progress<sup>6</sup> of righteousness *there* is this, too, that that greatness<sup>6</sup> is generated therefrom, and its seekers—who are human beings—*have* demanded the supreme predominance in the best existence. 22. About the praise of the period of the renovation of the universe *there* is this, too, that, at that time, those who are doubtful about it are all disclosed to publicity<sup>7</sup>; *also* the last reward and bridge judgment of the worthy. 23. About the lawfulness of that which occurs through the destruction by Vohûman<sup>8</sup>, who is himself the spiritual lord of the arrangement, *there* is this, too, that the wicked,

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 6 a, b; also Chap. XIX, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 7 a, b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 7 c, where, however, this last word can be read asamînisnô, 'unalarming' (asahamînisnô in Pt4, Mf4), and the corresponding word in Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 10 b can be read asamisnô, 'intrepid ;' but, as these meanings are difficult to reconcile with those of the original Av. hithaos, hithäm, it seems more probable that the first syllables asam or asaham, should be read hisam or hisäm, a mere transcript of Av. hithäm.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 8 a.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 8 b.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps these two words, rûbâkîh, 'progress,' and rabâfîh, 'greatness,' should be alike, but it is doubtful which is correct.

<sup>7</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 9 b.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 9 c.

at that time, become aware of their own wickedness, when their bodies are dissipated. 24. About the destruction of the good works of the wicked, also that of their own souls, that of *their* spiritual existences, and that of *their* material bodies<sup>1</sup>. 25. And this, too, that at the time of the renovation of the universe occurs the approach of the wisdom of our sovereignty to that of the best of mankind, and that glory is put on by it through which the destruction of the bad and the development of the good arise; also the sagacity which exists in Vohūman extends to those who are its friends<sup>2</sup>.

26. This, too, that there are those who are extenders of the days, and they are beneficial in the country<sup>3</sup>; and their custom, where they have arisen, is an opponent of him who is a wrathful person<sup>4</sup>. 27. And this, too, that they shall thereupon excite (lālā vadidūnāñd) a brother and sister with mutual desire, so that they shall form a next-of-kin marriage with unanimity; and before midday they generate a sublime radiance, centred in the face, and trembling passion<sup>5</sup>, and they make the radiance grow up, openly manifest, to an altitude of the height of three spears of the length of three reeds each<sup>6</sup>; and

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 11 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 11 d.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 12 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 12 d.

<sup>5</sup> Reading as follows:—lālā zerkhūnd rōshānō pavan mīyān rōd būland navēndakō khrōs, but some of the words can be read otherwise, as in S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. 395, or with further variations; and it is doubtful if the verb is to be construed with the words that follow it, contrary to the usual Pahlavi rule, as there is no other trace of Avesta construction in this section. Neither the Avesta, nor the Pahlavi, version of this chapter of the Gāthas makes any allusion to the subjects mentioned in §§ 27, 28.

<sup>6</sup> It appears from Dd. XLIII, 5 that this total of nine reeds would be about forty-eight human feet of fourteen finger-breadths

after midday they have learnt expulsion (rānakīh)<sup>1</sup>, and shall remove the fiend who was before a destroyer. 28. About those who girdle themselves where they shall perform their proper duty, and are thus all-beneficent for being seen.

29. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

## CHAPTER XLII.

### *Varstmānsar Nask.*

1. The nineteenth fargard, *Ad mā-yavā*<sup>2</sup>, is about the protection by a protector for the protection of the distressed ones of the renovation of the universe<sup>3</sup>. 2. About the impossibility of convincing those who have not attained to the fundamental reason (būn kīm) of belief, before making them comprehensibly reliant upon the existence of the creator, which is the fundamental reason of belief.

3. About the grievous suffering (vīmārīh) of the religion owing to him who is a wicked judge, whose effusions (rēzidānō) on the judgment seat are injudicious, malevolent, and enemies of wisdom; also his wounding is owing to truth<sup>4</sup>, and his annoyance owing to the truthful, and the evil spirit is lodging in him; likewise the advantage to the religion and the great reward of just judges, and the introduction

(see Farh. Oīm, p. 41, l. 1), or  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches, each; so that the height here mentioned would be about forty-two English feet.

<sup>1</sup> The capability of expelling fiends.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XIX, 1 n; it is here written *ad-māg-yāv* in Pahlavi.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 1 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 2 a, b.

(madam-barisnīh) of a desire for leadership in virtuousness<sup>1</sup>. 4. About separation from the friendship of a wicked, ill-judging, unintelligent, and idle person, in whom wrath and envy are coiled up (*avar-pēkō*)<sup>2</sup>. 5. About the good government of securers of their own necks (*kavarmān*) from viciousness, and the bad government of those repeatedly culpable (*lakhvār-âhūgān*) owing to viciousness. 6. And this, too, that the wicked themselves are wicked to their own and make them fit for hell, even as to those who<sup>3</sup> are precious to them and more beloved than righteousness; and *their* reign, too, is a scanty protection (*gasūkō srāyisnō*).

7. About the praise of Zarātūst *there* is this, too, namely: 'Thy sweetness and mildness are shown to the worldly existences, thy leadership of the religion is through Vohūman, *and* thou art well conversant with righteousness'<sup>4</sup>. 8. About the praise of Frashōstar's ardour in the leadership of good works, in virtuousness<sup>5</sup>, listening to instruction, and truthful speaking, and in pasturing (*fshegīh*), cultivating the world, achieving benefit (*sūdō tāshidārīh*), and not giving leadership to villains<sup>6</sup>. 9. About the praise also of the energy *and* high-priestship of Gāmāsp<sup>7</sup>. 10. About the protection of the good

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 3 b, c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 a.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that *amat* stands for *mān*, their Irānian equivalents being much alike.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 5 a, b, c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 8 a, b, c and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68 n.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 9 a, b, in which Pt4, Mf4 have *tāshidār* instead of the *khvāstār* of K5, J2; regarding *fshegīh* (=Av. *fsheng'hyō*) see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXII, 6 n.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 9 d and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68 n.

creations by Vohûman, *and* that, too, of the souls of the righteous *by* Spendarmad also<sup>1</sup>.

11. About the punishment of the wicked *ruler* who is seizing anything unlawfully in his realm.
12. Also about the grievous punishment of the wicked, evil-thinking, evil-speaking, evil-doing, heretical (dûs-dêñô), evil ruler in hell<sup>2</sup>.
13. About the reply of the archangels to Zaratûst, as to the reward begged by him, to make *him* satisfied about it<sup>3</sup>.
14. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

### CHAPTER XLIII.

#### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The twentieth fargard, Kad-môî-urvâ<sup>4</sup>, is about anything whatever *being* begged as provision for the soul<sup>5</sup>, and as to the speaking of Shatraver<sup>6</sup> to Zaratûst thus: ‘Thou shouldst think thus, O Spîtâmân! that Aûharmazd assists thee.’ 2. This, too, *is said*, that the creatures of Aûharmazd live through Khûrdad<sup>7</sup>, are immortal through Amûrdad<sup>8</sup>, possess complete mindfulness of Aûharmazd through

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 10 a, b, c and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3n.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 11 a, b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 12 b, d. In Pt4, Mf4, § b is as follows: ‘Mûn Zaratûsô Kîgûn lak Vohûman;’ being correctly limited according to the Avesta text.

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. XX, 1 n; it is here written kad-môg-ravakô in Pahlavî.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 1 a.

<sup>6</sup> An archangel who is a personification of the Avesta phrase khshathra-vairyâ, ‘desirable dominion.’

<sup>7</sup> For these three archangels see Chaps. XII, 25 n, XIX, 1 n, and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

Spendarmad<sup>1</sup>, and possess him as ruler through Sha-traver.

3. About wealth *being* begged owing to virtuousness *there* is this, too, that, to him who, owing to virtuousness, begs that which is not allowed to him owing to the oppressiveness of the vile, or on account of some other opposition, they then give essentially that reward, in the spiritual *existence which is greater and better than that wealth.* 4. About the cattle suitable for that warrior who possesses virtuous habits and strength<sup>2</sup>, through the assistance of the will of the sacred beings and for the benefit of Irân and the defeat of the diminishing foreign force (kâstârîh-i an-Airânð).

5. About the seizure<sup>3</sup> of mankind for the advancement of the admonition and command of the sacred beings, so far as force is an assistant to them in knowledge due to the sacred beings<sup>4</sup>; and their appropriation of the best existence through the advancement of that admonition and command.

6. About the assistance of the righteous, on the passage to the best existence, by the spirit of the wisdom of sovereignty, liberality, and truth, Aharis-vang<sup>5</sup> and the angel Hôm<sup>6</sup>.

7. About the reason of the three steps walked forward by the Zôti from the place of the Zôti, while uttering the Avesta (*avistâkô-gôbisnîhâ*), after the

<sup>1</sup> See note 7, preceding page.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 3 a, c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 7 d.

<sup>4</sup> This proviso implies some faint perception of the absurdity of trying to assist almighty beings by human force.

<sup>5</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

<sup>6</sup> A personification of the Av. Haoma plant, an infusion of the dried twigs of which is used in the religious ceremonial. Yas. IX and X are devoted to his praise.

end of the ritual for the fire, on delivering (*parvāzisnō*) the offering of holy-water to the water<sup>1</sup>, *being* the leading up of the archangels, always *at* the end of an assembly of conference *with* Zaratûst, by three steps from the earth to the sun station, through *the places of* good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds<sup>2</sup>.

8. Advice to Zaratûst also as to the nature of the archangels; likewise a reminder to worship on *their*

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 8 a. This refers to the proceedings of the chief officiating priest in the ceremonial, after the conclusion of the Âtas Nyâyis (Yas. LXII) and just before the beginning of the Âbân Nyâyis (Yas. LXV), during the recital of Yas. LXIV which chiefly consists of a repetition of §§ 6-11 of this Gâthic hâ (Yas. L=XLIX of the Pahlavi version). These proceedings are detailed in the rubrics, partially in J<sub>2</sub> and more fully in Pt<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>4</sub>, as follows:—After reciting Av. Yas. L, 7 d ‘the Barsôm (Av. bares-man, see Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 65 n) is to be taken up from the Mâh-rû,’ or crescent-topped Barsôm-stand, ‘*and* one step is to be set forth in the direction of the Frabardâr’ (the imaginary assistant priest whose station is near the north-east corner of the ceremonial area, or to the left of the Zôti, see Chap. XXXIII, 5 n), ‘*at this place of* taking up the Barsôm from the Barsôm-stand, *and of* going on to the position of the Frabardâr, a beginning of Yas. L, 8 a is to be made in walking towards the beginning of the fire place, until Yas. L, 11 d is to be uttered,’ in the following manner:—After ‘*mad vau* one step is to be set forth, *and* homage to be offered to the holy-water;’ after ‘*padâis* one step, and homage to be offered to the holy-water;’ after ‘*yâ frasrûtâ ïzayau* one step is to be set forth, *and he* is to go on to the position of the Âbard’ (the imaginary assistant priest whose station is near the south-east corner, so that the progress of the Zôti towards the fire is along the left-hand side of the ceremonial area), and, after reciting the rest of the Gâthic text to the end of Yas. L, 11 d, ‘homage is to be offered to the fire, *and he* is to go away to the position of the Zôti.’

<sup>2</sup> The three lower grades of heaven, intermediate between the earth and the best existence or supreme heaven (Garôdmân), and situated in the stations of the stars, moon, and sun, respectively (see AV. VII-X, Mkh. VII, 9-12).

account after separation from the sight of them.  
 9. And this, too, *is said*, that *there arises therefrom* a conception (*ham-giriftârîh*), *by him whose disposition and character are sagacious*<sup>1</sup>, also as to the adaptation of his own deeds to that nature of his. 10. And about the good affinity of Zaratûst, even for abundance of good works, *there is this, too, namely*: ‘*So, for all those deeds which thou hast to accomplish, and which are also accomplished, there is reward for thee through their righteousness, O Zaratûst!*’

11. And about the advice to Zaratûst *there is this, too, namely*: ‘*Thou hast to become reverent to them*<sup>2</sup>, so that mankind *may become reverent to thee*.’

12. About considering the time of the days *and* nights *as all for good accumulation in good works* *there is this, too, that whoever is diligent and always doing good works, and that whoever shall perform as many good works as is possible for him, is given as much reward*<sup>3</sup> *as is his desire.*

13. It is righteousness *that is perfect excellence.*

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. *In* the twenty-first fargard, Vohû-khshathrem<sup>4</sup>, *it is said by Aûharmazd thus*: ‘I produced, O Zaratûst! the desire *for* a good ruler<sup>5</sup>;’ and this, too, *is said*, that, when *there is a desire for a*

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 9 d.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 10 d.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 11 d.

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. XXI, 1 n; it is here written vohû-khshatar in Pahlavi, and is called the 2nd fargard by mistake.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 a.

good ruler suitable for a share of the world, whoever is suitable for a share of the world [is a development of that character also, owing to the share which is given him, and by him who is himself also developing the character, by giving him a share]<sup>1</sup>, giving the share is producing a helper (*vigidâr*), production of a helper is a perfect action<sup>2</sup>, and superiority of action is owing to thought *and* speech.

2. About *the place* where the best wealth is the produce of water, earth, and plants; also its best supplication is lamentation for the religion, and the sovereignty is liberality. 3. About favours *being* begged from the sacred beings, even with words controverting the response of the sacred beings; the favours *for* the worthy are to be contended *for* worthily. 4. About the connection of the power of intelligent remembrance and wise discrimination, one with the other. 5. About the attraction of the mercy of the spirit *and* leadership<sup>3</sup>, together, into the supreme heaven (*garôdmânô*), for observation regarding the good creatures.

6. About the begging *and* teaching of that intelligence which is with the increase of good works; also the imperceptible acquirement<sup>4</sup> of wealth occurs thereby. 7. This, too, that whoever gives himself up, with humility and reverence, to him who is a high-priest of the true religion, is proficient (*far'-zânaki-aitö*) in the religion<sup>5</sup>; and the benefit produced by him, for him who is good, is the liberality

<sup>1</sup> The passage in brackets was at first omitted in the MS. by mistake, and subsequently interlined and written in the margin with a different ink.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 4 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 5 a.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 5 c.

which is provided for the sacred beings<sup>1</sup>. 8. About Aþharmazd *having* created water, plants, animals<sup>2</sup>, and the law of the primitive religion *for* the nourishment, arrangement, and succession of the creatures. 9. About the comfort *of* the spirit *of* the liturgy of the religion when he who is a man of credible wisdom and superior disposition utters it<sup>3</sup>.

10. This, too, that the wicked *one* who does not believe the deception that he teaches to others, which is his through his own spiritual lord, yet, when he teaches multitudes (kabedân), is convinced by it, attains—as the end of that teaching—eminence (padgahîh) for bare-faced deceit (barâh-nakô fradîpîh), public falsehood, and disjointed belief.

11. And about mankind *being* bodily prepared also for the future existence by fire and melted ore<sup>4</sup>; in the worldly *existence* the acquitted and incriminated, as regards the law, *have* become thereby manifest<sup>5</sup>, and, in the future existence, the torment of the wicked and the gratification of the righteous<sup>6</sup>. 12. About Vohûman and Ashavahist *being* invoked<sup>7</sup> for assistance also in danger from the wicked, and about appropriating the best existence through righteousness alone. 13. And this, too, that a happy coming *of* men to the supreme heaven exists *for* the righteous, but no<sup>8</sup> coming of any one from the wicked.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 6 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 7 a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 8 c; nêvagtâr is written by mistake for nêvagtar, 'superior,' in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 9 b and Chap. XXXII, 25.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 9 a.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 9 c.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 10 c.

<sup>8</sup> Assuming that râî stands for lâ.

14. About the enmity of the Kāt<sup>1</sup> sodomite (vâēpō)<sup>2</sup> Akht, the heretic of the dark existence<sup>3</sup>, to Zaratûst; and the causing of disturbance (siklinidānō), by him and the wicked of similar kinds to him, among those who *follow* Zaratûst is extreme, and the primeval hellish existence is *for* them<sup>4</sup>.  
 15. About the closing of the abode of the Kāt and Karap from virtuousness<sup>5</sup>; *and* this, too, that they do not develope the worldly *existences*, nor attend to the spirit, but they contract the world *and* dissipate the spirit<sup>6</sup>.

16. About the worthiness of the sovereignty of Kāt-Vistâsp<sup>7</sup>, on account of great ability and activity, apart even from superintending. 17. About the praise of Frashôstar<sup>8</sup> for his *having* given Hvôbô<sup>9</sup> in marriage to Zaratûst, the praise of Hvôbô for her complete reverence of Zaratûst, and admonition to Zaratûst as to making Hvôbô privileged for the post of house-mistress<sup>10</sup>. 18. About the praise of Gâmâsp<sup>11</sup> for begging fortune and *for* wisdom in appropriating the excellence of the primitive righteousness; *also his* affection for the sovereignty and *for* the recitation of revelation, in which *there* is assistance of Zaratûst through command of Vohû-

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 12 a.

<sup>3</sup> Akhtyô dusdau temanguhau of Yt. V, 82; the wizard Akht of the tale of Yôst-i Fryânô.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 14 c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 14 a.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 14 b. <sup>7</sup> Ibid. 16 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 17 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 17 b. Av. Hvôvi of Yt. XIII, 139, XVI, 15; she was daughter of Frashôstar and wife of Zaratûst.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 17 c.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 18 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

man<sup>1</sup>. 19. About the praise of Maīdōk-mâh<sup>2</sup> for his accepting *and* exercising—*and* on account of his exercising—the upholding and propagation of the religion; *also* the yelling, united assault, evil food, *and* other affliction owing to the wicked *in* the earlier half of the night, which is that which Zarātūst *had*, for a like reason, to bear; and the reciting of the law of Aūharmazd<sup>3</sup>, for the joy of the sacred beings, and his appropriation *of* the best existence.

20. About the abounding of Zarātūst in complete mindfulness of the origin of learning, and *its* development by him<sup>4</sup>; both the object and the advantage of knowledge—which is the reigning of Vohūman in the body—*being* the means of developing the world in righteousness<sup>5</sup>. 21. About the perfection of the ceremonial<sup>6</sup> and obeisance of Zarātūst, *and* the superiority<sup>7</sup> of his recompense<sup>8</sup>; *also* advice to him as to worshipping Aūharmazd pre-eminently, and the primeval angels by their own names<sup>9</sup> according to their greatness.

22. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that is* perfect.

## CHAPTER XLV.

### *Varstmânsar Nask.*

1. The twenty-second fargard, Vahistôisti<sup>10</sup>, is about the perfection of the prayers<sup>11</sup> of the good religion, and information thereon.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 18 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 19 a and Chap. XXIV, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 19 c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 21 a.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 21 b.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 22 a.

<sup>7</sup> Assuming that *avartîh* stands for *avartarîh*.

<sup>8</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 22 b.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 22 c.

<sup>10</sup> See Chap. XXII, 1 n.

<sup>11</sup> See Pahl. Yas. LII, 1 a.

2. About the glory of a family of some houses *that has come to the Spītāmas*<sup>1</sup>, even before the coming of Zaratūst; the knowledge and habit of organization and priestly authority of those *arising* from that family; the existence therein of houses, villages, communities, *and* districts; *its* attracting *and* exalting mankind, from vice to virtue, by propriety of words and actions; *and* it convinces those of the world even till the arrival of the good religion. 3. And this, too, that the existence of Kai-Vistāsp—that desire of Zaratūst<sup>2</sup>—and of Frashōstar of the Hvōbas<sup>3</sup>, is owing to it.

4. About the praise of Pōrūkāst<sup>4</sup>, daughter of Zaratūst, for loving the good religion with wisdom and acting *by* the advice of the religion, *having* given *herself* contentedly in womanly service (*zanōīh*) to Zaratūst<sup>5</sup>; *her* complete accomplishment

<sup>1</sup> The family from which Zaratūst, Maīdōk-māh, and Pōrūkāst were descended. Its name originated with Spītāma, an ancestor of Zaratūst nine generations back. Compare Chap. XXXIX, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps we ought to read ‘the Spītāma Zaratūst,’ substituting Spītāmak for kāmak, ‘desire,’ which latter word is written on a patch by the repairer of the MS. who must have found the original word defective. See Pahl. Yas. LII, 2 c.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XXI, 24.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. LII, 3 a. Av. Pourukista who became the wife of Gāmāsp, prime minister of king Vistāsp.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 4 a. It seems unlikely that *zanōīh* means ‘marriage’ here (the term being applied to her relation both to Zaratūst and Gāmāsp), unless we were to suppose that she married Gāmāsp after her father’s death, which the phrase *akhar min Zaratūst*, ‘after Zaratūst,’ might possibly imply. And if *zanōīh* means merely ‘womanly service’ here, its Zvāris equivalent *nēsmanīh*, applied to the seven sisters of Ardā Vīraf in AV. II, 10, may also not imply marriage, which is a view already suggested in S.B.E., vol. xviii, p. 398 n.

of duty and reverence *for* him, *and*, after Zaratûst, *her* also performing womanly service (*zanih*) and reverence *for* Gâmâsp<sup>1</sup>; *likewise* her great reward from Aûharmazd for religiousness and self-devotion (*khvêshih*) to the sacred beings. 5. About the praise of Hûtôs<sup>2</sup> for the arising of the progress of the Mazda-worshipping religion through her, by the growth of righteousness and smiting *of* the primeval fiend; *also* the good works and advantage which have arisen in the world from *her* great possessions, and her equal praise and grand position here *and in* yonder *world*.

6. About the characteristics of those who are preparing the end *of time* and arranging *its* period *there* is this, too, namely: 'They are a manifestation *of* those, *O Spitâmân Zaratûst!* who shall cause this renovation in the existences; they are observant, little afflictive in tormenting, *and* fully mindful, so that, when milk reaches them, they thoroughly digest *it*; they *have* no fear and accoutrements (*afzâr*), *nor* yet do they mention false *and* irreverent (*anâstö*) statements concerning those who are righteous through imploring righteousness.'

7. About the characteristics of those disturbing the end *of time* *and* opposing *its* period *there* is this, too, namely: 'They are a manifestation *of* those, *O Spitâmân Zaratûst!* who are destroying the existences<sup>3</sup>; they are swiftly remedied, that is, they become very quickly devoured (*khâidö*) and *are* in

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. LII, 4 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 5 a. Av. Hutaosa, the wife of king Vistâsp, see Yt. IX, 26, XV, 35.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. LII, 6 e.

the torment of the vicious *and* grievous abode; they are not fully mindful, so that *it* is not possible for them to digest milk, their fear is inevitable (*a*kâr), *and* they mention even false *and* irreverent statements concerning those who are righteous through imploring righteousness.

8. About the craving for the fiend, the assistance of the fiend, and the gratification of the fiend *by* him who is an apostle of the demons, and his rendering the creatures of Aûharmazd helpless<sup>1</sup> even through the want of progress (*anasakisnö*) which they lament; also the confusion owing to his speaking deceitfully in the world, *and* the connection with him of an awful and swift death<sup>2</sup>, and the most grievous *and* hellish punishment. 9. About that wicked follower and assistant of theirs *in* defeating righteousness, and also in destroying the greater religiousness (*frêh-dêñôih*) of the world and making the soul wicked in the end.

10. About the occurrence of the dissipation of the glory of him who is a well-ruling man, and the pacification (*âsûdanö*) of the creatures of the world by the sacred beings, it says this, too, namely: 'The persuader to evil<sup>3</sup> and the organizer of distress (*veshisnö*)—where they shall make pain *and* distress current in the world—are the weakener (*nerefsînidâr*) and corrupter (*âlâyidâr*) for the

<sup>1</sup> Or it may be 'maintaining the affliction of the creatures,' if we read *dzârdârîh* instead of *a*kârgârîh.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. LII, 8 d.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 9 a. B has *avêhîh vêrenakînidâr*, but *avêhîh*, 'want of goodness,' ought to be *dûsh*, 'evil,' which it resembles even more in appearance than in meaning, in Pahlavi letters.

righteous ; it is the ruler that is righteous who smites them and opposes them—that is, restrains them from sin—and causes hatred for them through *his* will<sup>1</sup>; that, *O Aūharmazd!* is this dominion of thine by which you give benefits (*vehigānō*) to him who is justly living *and* poor<sup>2</sup>.

11. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

### *Varstmānsar Nask.*

1. The twenty-third fargard, Airyaman<sup>3</sup>, is the Airmān supplication<sup>4</sup> :—‘ That is the greatest, I tell thee, *O Spītāmān!* of the pure sayings of every kind, in so much Avesta lore, this is the best, because *it* is given forth by him who is a very eminent producer (madam-kārtar) of sayings of every kind.

2. Which Airmān supplication they should recite who are beneficial<sup>5</sup>, *and* the benefiter<sup>5</sup>, through the recital of it aloud, *O Spītāmān!* becomes predominant.

3. The evil spirit, who is heretical (dūs-dēnō), *O Zaratūst!* with his own creatures, *O Spītāmān!* becomes buried *in* the earth ; the evil spirit is among those buried *in* the earth—who are the demons—where their bodily form (kālpuḍō) is com-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas, LII, 9 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 9 d. Compare Chap. XLVII, 17.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XXIII, 1 n; it is here written Aīremanō in Pahlavi.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas, LIII, 1 and Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 81.

<sup>5</sup> Pahl. sūd-hōmōnd=Av. saoshyās, referring to the future restorer of religion to the world, just before the renovation of the universe.

pletely shattered. 4. And up the dead are arrayed by it; through its assistance they give life back unto the body, and the embodied life they *then* possess is *such* that they do not die.'

5. It is perfect *is* the excellence of righteousness; it is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

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## CHAPTER XLVII.

### *Bakō Nask.*

1. Propitiation *for* the creator Aûharmazd and all angels.

2. The first of the twenty-two fargards of the Bakō<sup>1</sup> is the Ahunavair<sup>2</sup> of the Bakān<sup>3</sup>, about the production *by* Aûharmazd, before every creation apart from the archangel<sup>4</sup>, *and* on the solicitation of

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<sup>1</sup> The third of the Nasks and fourth of the Gâthic division (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 9, 12). It is an analytical commentary upon the Gâthas and the texts associated with them in the two preceding Nasks, devoting a separate fargard to each hâ, and selecting very short phrases, or portions (Av. bagha), for explanation and comment; so short that it is usually difficult to identify them in their Pahlavi disguise. The first three fargards are still extant in Yas. XIX–XXI, and a translation of their Pahlavi versions will be found in the Nask Fragments at the end of this volume; but whether the Pahlavi versions, consulted by the writer of the Dînkard, were identical with those in the present Yasna is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7). This fargard is still extant in Yas. XIX.

<sup>3</sup> That is, 'of the apportionments,' or 'of those analyzed.'

<sup>4</sup> Possibly the archangel Vohûman, the first of the creatures, may be meant; although the Bundahis places his creation after the recitation of the Ahunavair (see Bd. I, 21–23). That it was

the archangel, of the form *of* words (rastakō mi-layā) which is the innermost and most comprehensive encompassment (parvand) *and* best-congregated embodiment (vēh-ramaktūm kerpō) of the intelligent omniscience of the religion<sup>1</sup>.

3. The divisions of *this* germ of germs, *and* the origin of the other primitive sayings of the good religion, are the divisibility of the portions (bakō) *of* the Ahunavair. 4. The Ahū of the Ahū-vairyō of the Ahunavair is the first creature<sup>2</sup> which, as regards the first, is specially that creature which is really *derived* from the creator Aūharmazd, and its adaptation is owing to mankind. 5. The thought (mit)<sup>3</sup> that exists with the first is with the word that is Vairyō, his 'will,' which is in the second created existence (dāmīh), which, as regards the first, is specially the primitive secondary state (dadīgarīh) of those who are specially characterised by it, who exist as *it were* with *that* character, *and* have become, *in* that way, in association *with* the second creature. 6. The conjunction of the first creature—whose origin (yehevūnisnō), which is the liturgy, is a co-existence whose origin *had* occurred—is the source for the saying; and the distribution of the portions thereof is the whole saying of a liturgical kind; also its name is Yathā-ahū-vairyō, the spirit through which it is set going is the lore *of* the religion, needful among the creatures, the creations *arose* through wisdom for that purpose, and they, too, *were* produced on the solicitation of

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recited before the other creations is clearly stated in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 2-5, 17-20.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 24-27.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Pâz. mit=Av. maiti=manas.

the archangel<sup>1</sup>; besides this, that archangels *are* wise in speaking, and through wisdom are they archangels.

7. And this, too, about the same words, that the statement is the best-worded which is spoken, *or* to be spoken<sup>2</sup>; and the obscurity is not about the sound of the word-elements, but about the manifold nature of the actual meaning (*kabedih-i sang-ikō*), which is the character of the statement, in the words of the epitome. 8. This, too, that mankind guard the soul from hell by learning, reciting, and practising *it*, and the body from death<sup>3</sup> by likewise perpetually persevering therein.

9. This, too, that, *as to* the first apportionment of the Ahunavair, whose name is the Bakān Ahunavair, when, thoroughly accomplishing *it* (*avavidār*) unanxiously (*asūdakīhā*), *one* chants *it* in a ceremonial, the good work is as when *one* chants a hundred authorities (*radīh*) of the Gāthas, thoroughly accomplishing *them* unanxiously<sup>4</sup>; and when, accomplishing *it* (*vidār*) anxiously, *one* chants *it*, such a ceremonial amounts to *as much as ten with any other authority*<sup>5</sup>. 10. This, too, that, through the same apportionment, while *one* solemnizes the summing up of the first completion<sup>6</sup>, which is the Stōd-yast, as it becomes the rite of *one* newly initiated (*navak-nāpar*)<sup>7</sup>, on that day

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 20.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 24.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 25, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 6, 7. The MS. has *41* instead of *51*, '100,' by mistake.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 8. The MS. has 'unanxiously' by mistake.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly Yas. LIX, 32-34.

<sup>7</sup> Commonly called Nōnābar (see Sls. X, 2, XIII, 2; Dd. LXXIX, 4, 11, 12).

they make the soul of the solemnizer pass three times into the supreme heaven<sup>1</sup>.

11. About the grievous sinfulness of imperfectly accomplishing (*avidâr*) the Bakân Ahunavair<sup>2</sup>.

12. This, too, that it is made by him in subjection to Aûharmazd, as the first creature made, who gives the body in service to him who is the ruler, *and* in discipleship to him who is the high-priest of the religion<sup>3</sup>; for this reason, because they are suitable *for* lordship and mastership in the worldly *existence*.

13. He who is the highest lord *and* master is the creator Aûharmazd, and, owing to the same reason, when it made their subjection that *to* the creator Aûharmazd, he has made *it* as the first creature made.

14. This, too, that it is taught by it to keep the body in the service of the king of kings<sup>4</sup>, whose origin Aûharmazd keeps in *his* possession; for this reason, because, when *his* origin is kept in the possession of Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd is over his own if a good ruler is made; him who is thus prepared, when also the worldly existence is necessary *for* Aûharmazd, he maintains as ruler when the creation is instructed.

15. This, too, that the reward of Vohûman is appropriated (*khvêsinidö*) by him who indicates anything which is virtuous, who also utters virtuous recitation, *and* who likewise teaches perfect abstinence from sin to mankind<sup>5</sup>. 16. For this reason, because the indication of anything virtuous, the utterance of recitation wisely, *and* abstinence from

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 9-11.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 28, 29.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 12-15.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 31, 32.

sin are, as *it were*, a lodgment materially in good people owing spiritually to the archangels, Vohû-man *being* more particularly the instigator therein; and, owing to the same reason, *he* in whom there is a like proficiency is of like good works with Vohû-man, and adapted to the good works arises the like reward.

17. This, too, that the dominion is given to Aûharmazd by him who may perform those *works*, is manifest from the phrase *Tad mazdâ tavâ khshathrem*, &c. and its meaning, which is this: 'That, *O Aûharmazd!* is this dominion of thine, *by* which benefits (*vehagânö*) are given *to* him who is justly living *and* poor<sup>1</sup>.' 18. *Which* is a deliverance for this reason, because Aûharmazd created no dominion for the more particular preservation of the poor *and* the creatures of the worldly *existence* from the destroyer; *but*, for the purpose of control over the dominion of *him* whose strength of rule is the cause of preservation for the poor—which is continually the wish of Aûharmazd—the dominion is given to Aûharmazd.

19. *And* this, too, that, through preservation from the adversary, he has assisted his poor who have preserved friendship for the Spîtâmân<sup>2</sup>; the adversity *of* the creatures is the advancement of religion, by supporting the religion; and a friend of the Spîtâmân becomes an assistant of the supporters of religion. 20. About the entrance (*dêñ yâtûndakîh*) of the destroyer of the creatures from without<sup>3</sup>, *and* the helplessness of the beneficent spirit owing thereto.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 35, Yas. LIII, 9 d, and Chap. XLV, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 39.

21. About the girding on of this saying of the religion of Aûharmazd by the three degrees (*padmân*), which are good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds; *by* the four classes, which are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship; and *by* the five chieftainships, which are house-rule, village-rule, tribe-rule, province-rule, and the supreme Zarâtûstship; and the one summing up (*hangerdîkîh*) which is the liberality of the good ruler<sup>1</sup>.

22. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

### CHAPTER XLVIII.

#### *Bakô Nask.*

1. The second fargard is the Ashem<sup>2</sup> of the Bakân<sup>3</sup>; it is by it *that* perfect excellence is produced for every one who produces for any one else that which is suitable for him<sup>4</sup>; for this reason, because, for the sake of perfect production, *there is* much unprofitable production, *but* profitable production is suitably producing. 2. This, too, that the reward of every good work is given by it to mankind, which keeps mankind in diligence when it instructs<sup>5</sup>; because, as the business of all good works is that which instructs and keeps mankind in diligence, the reward of good works which man-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 44-55.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. III, 1 n; it is here expressed by its Pahlavi equivalent *aharâyîh*. This fargard is still extant in Yas. XX.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XLVII, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XX, 1.

kind can appropriate by diligence is appropriated by it. 3. And this, too, that advancement is given by it to every good work<sup>1</sup>.

4. He who is understanding good works, and *yet* a suppliant, has thereby made the learned foolish (*âzân akhanidînîdö*); whoever possesses authority through virtuousness<sup>2</sup> is more particularly for rewarding the doers of good works; whoever, too, can make true decision<sup>3</sup> and adjudication is more particularly for causing the bridge *judgment* of a criminal, and *for* thrusting *him* aside owing to the exhaustion of *his* good works; and whoever, too, can exercise mediation *and* wisdom is more particularly for the good government of the world.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

### *Bakô Nask.*

1. The third fargard is the Yênhê-hâtâm<sup>4</sup>: there is here taught by it the worship of Aûharmazd, which is the law of Aûharmazd, that is, its law is virtuous<sup>5</sup>. 2. This, too, that the worship of Aûharmazd is occasioned by it, which is the asking for life for beings *by* mankind<sup>5</sup>. 3. *And* this, too, that the ritual of the males and females of the righteous occurs *through* it, which is the obeisance for the archangels<sup>6</sup>. 4. And the atone-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XX, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. IV, 1 n; it is here written Yênhê-hâtâm in Pahlavi. This fargard is still extant in Yas. XXI.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXI, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 2, 3.

ment for crimes (*vagagānō*), because it is a gratification, is all for Aûharmazd personally therefrom; and in connection therewith it amounts to a gratification for Aûharmazd.

5. Here *one* mentions three particulars<sup>1</sup> which are in one's worship of Aûharmazd of every description. 6. One is when the design (*dâdō*) of the person is virtuous, because it is restrained by some virtuousness of thought; this is that which amounts to worship and obeisance for Aûharmazd personally. 7. One is when it teaches an asking for life for mankind, and its ordinance is the protection, nourishment, and other assistance and gratification of mankind; a friend of the primitive worldly creation of mankind produced it, and it comes into connection with the bridge *judgment* of mankind, for the worship and gratification of Aûharmazd. 8. And one is when *one* would celebrate the obeisance for the archangels, which is for the sake of strengthening the archangels, each separately, in *their* control of the business of preparing and managing the world; because *it* is declared by revelation *that* to worship is this, that the ceremonial *may* reach this bridge<sup>2</sup> in company with *one* (*padvand*), for the worship and gratification of Aûharmazd; the archangel who is to be strengthened by the ceremonial is one, and mankind are developed by the strength of the archangel.

9. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXI, 3.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kînvad* bridge (see Chap. XX, 3).

## CHAPTER L.

*Bakō Nask.*

1. Propitiation *for* the creator Aûharmazd, and a scornful dole *for* the evil spirit.

2. The fourth fargard is the Yânim-mânô<sup>1</sup> of the Bakō, about the praise of Zarâtûst, that is, his jurisdiction, invocation of blessing (yânô)<sup>2</sup>, and speaking *in* reply were such as are declared by the sacred text. 3. This, too, that that jurisdiction of his arose before the blessing, that is, this one decision is made by him about his own, that his own person is first made deserving by him through virtue, and then virtue is prayed for by him<sup>3</sup>.

4. This, too, that he has attributed the source and result to Aûharmazd, who gives joy to Aûharmazd; for the source and result of various advantages and various joys are desirable for joy itself, as joy is the acme (rôësman) of every happiness of him whose joy has made an offering (aûstôfrîdô) to Aûharmazd, because his decision is this, that by him whose joy arises from that thing which is the will of Aûharmazd, its source and result are attributed to Aûharmazd. 5. This, too, that the good work, which is a gratification *by* lawful gratifiers<sup>4</sup>, becomes appropriated by him who shall perform that which is truly reverent; even for this reason, because he who is a lawful gratifier of others, through true reverence, has intended to gratify through the practice of his reverence, and, when thus the gratifier of those persons, the good work of gratification

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. V, 1 n.    <sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, o.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 1 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 2 c.

by lawful gratifiers becomes appropriated. 6. This, too, that the wisdom of Vohūman<sup>1</sup> is advanced by him who utters a discourse through Vohūman; for this reason, because the wisdom of Vohūman and its advancement are mostly through discourse. 7. This, too, that the plentifullness and satisfaction of cattle<sup>1</sup> are taught by him who properly maintains the cattle which are in his possession; even for this reason, owing to the multitudes thus *belonging* to *him* who properly maintains the cattle which are in his possession, he gains his profit *and* pleasure therefrom, *and* others, who see that gain, are instructed, even as much as he, about the proper maintenance of cattle for their own profit *and* pleasure.

8. This, too, that benefit<sup>2</sup> *being* given for the benefit *of* the worthy *man* is taught by him who keeps the benefit that is his as the property *of* the sacred beings; even for this reason, because he gives the benefit that is his unto the worthy *man* for the purpose of keeping *it* for the advantage of the sacred beings, and others are instructed about it. 9. This, too, that prosperity<sup>3</sup> *being* given, in both existences<sup>2</sup>, to him who is generous *and* worthy is taught by him who gives benefit to a worthy *man* possessing body and life; even for this reason, because a worldly *existence* and a spiritual *one* are both his, also his worldly *existence* is in this existence, *and* the spiritual *one* in that existence wherefrom satisfaction *for* the giving of benefit arrives. 10. This, too, that by him who shall cause reverence<sup>4</sup> of the good, even this is taught, that the sacred

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 1 c, where Pt<sub>4</sub> and Mf<sub>4</sub> have Vohūman instead of valman.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 2 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 2 c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 4 b.

beings gratify him who is practising their will ; even for this reason, because good for him, by whom the reverence is practised, becomes the reply of satisfaction, *and* the throne of the sacred beings is certain.

11. This, too, that *he* who *was* at first has taught even this to mankind, that supplicants<sup>1</sup> for the favour of the sacred beings gratify the sacred beings by being contented (*padvāz*) ; even for this reason, because the welcome of a sacred being, supplied by command from the religion, is a virtuousness in the world distinct from that, and the production of a course of generosity, from the sacred beings to mankind, arises really through the contentment of the favoured ; *and* mankind thereby become freer from doubt, and believe more in the sacred beings.

12. This, too, that his soul is delivered, *or will* be delivered, into the supreme heaven<sup>2</sup>, who *has* given something to him who praises the sacred beings *and* the good ; even for this reason, because even through liberality as to wealth, and the production of a way to the supreme heaven, *it* is manifest *that* anything given to the praisers of the sacred beings *and* the good is a greater liberality. 13. This, too, that the reverence<sup>3</sup> of those needing reverence is occasioned by him who teaches the *sacred* word (*vākakō*) to the good ; even for this reason, because he who is a good teacher of revelation (*dēnō*) can bring *it* into use for the reverence, advantage, *and* joy of the sacred beings *and* the good.

14. This, too, that acquaintance with the religion of Aūharmazd<sup>3</sup> is disclosed to his own by him who loves Vohūman ; even for this reason, because true

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 4 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 4 b.

knowledge arises from the discrimination of pure wisdom, and the pure attainment of the most discriminative spiritual lord (ahvā) to the mind, through the purity that constitutes the way within the mind of a spiritual lord, the purity which becomes that way through the lodgment of Vohūman there.

15. This, too, that righteousness is taught<sup>1</sup> by him who keeps *his* mind connected with righteousness ; even for this reason, because his mind attains to an effort for authority, and, ridden by the effort, attains to *its* acquisition. 16. This, too, that by him who gives commands about the progress of the concerns of Aûharmazd, this is also taught to mankind, namely, when *one* sees the throne of Aûharmazd<sup>2</sup> ; even for this reason, because it is possible to see that throne through the complete progress of the will of Aûharmazd in the world ; and whoever gives commands about the progress of the concerns of Aûharmazd, the will of Aûharmazd is necessary in him, the progressive share of those concerns for the people of the world *being* shown, which is seen even through that foundation of completeness that becomes the throne of Aûharmazd for mankind.

17. This, too, that by him who welcomes Aûharmazd in *himself*<sup>3</sup>, matters only known by even a high-priest are then taught to mankind ; even for this reason, because instruction and knowledge are mostly those through a high-priest, and by him who welcomes Aûharmazd in *himself*, a spiritual lord is then prayed for, who becomes glorious and praised for that which is to be taught, and mankind are taught by him. 18. This, too, that by any one good, who

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 4 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 5 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 6 a.

is a servant *and* pleaser of a good ruler, a good person may be brought forward, to him who is the ruler, for benefit<sup>1</sup>; even for this reason, because a good *man* associates other good people with him in the benefit that happens to him, and *his* character, temper, *and* disposition are thus due to that; but when bringing himself forward to rulers, through reverence *and* gratification *of* the rulers, other good people may also be brought forward by him for that benefit. 19. This, too, that by him *who* shall virtuously make an accumulation, the way of prosperity<sup>2</sup> from the sacred beings is disclosed to his own; even for this reason, because virtuous accumulation is provided through unnumbered (*apēnāvādō*) grants of a decider, and, when *it is* so, he becomes the treasurer of the sacred beings.

20. This, too, that by him who produces advantage for the archangels, the gift of him who is suitable for the sovereignty<sup>3</sup> of the immature (*khām*) world is solicited; even for this reason, because the advantage which is produced for the archangels *being* for the sake of his own, the advantage of the immature creation solicited—the supreme advantage of the primitive good creations—becomes a virtuous ruler. 21. This, too, that by him who is a praiser<sup>3</sup> of an archangel, the good religion is praised; even for this reason, because the good religion is praise of the archangels, *and* the praise of the archangels is the good religion. 22. This, too, that the religion of the sacred beings is made progressive<sup>3</sup> by him who shall make an offering (*aūstōfrīdō*) to the

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 6 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 7 a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 7 c.

sacred beings ; even for this reason, because making an offering to the sacred beings strengthens the upholders of religion, and the progress of religion occurs through upholders of religion.

23. This, too, that by him who shall make mankind quite zealous (*garemôkô*) for doing good works, the reward of the good works is also made liberal for mankind ; even for this reason, because the producer of the origin is also the producer of the result.

24. This, too, that above the multitude is the praise of the man who is assisting those of virtuous will, who is also the nourishment of the creatures through virtuousness, and whose accumulation is also owing to virtuousness ; even for this reason, because whoever is assisting those of virtuous will is an increaser of virtuousness in the world, whoever is the nourishment of the creatures through virtuousness is a producer of the paternity of creatures, *and he* whose accumulation is owing to virtuousness becomes an improver of the world.

25. This, too, that by him who assists him who is ignorant (*khast*), is given *and* taught to supplicants that which is suitable for them.

26. To assist him who is ignorant is this, such as forming the province, district, domain, *and* family ; maintaining the abode *and* house of a follower of Vistâsp (*Vistâspânô*), the fortress *and* stronghold, and the homestead (*khân*) of the agricultural peasant ; repairing a rugged road ; building bridges over rivers ; managing a river, aqueduct, *or* brook ; populating desolate places ; *and* doing other things, owing to which any retention (*gîrift-aê*) of the comfort and advantage of mankind in the world occurs.

27. And by him who shall do these things, the assistance even of him who is born afterwards,

the making of that which is a very advantageous thing suitable *for* mankind, and also the doing *of this* for others, are taught.

28. This, too, that it is revealed (*kâshṭô*) of the spiritual existence *that* that which is wisdom is for Aûharmazd, for him who is wisdom—that is, it teaches *that* acquired *wisdom* is for him whose innate wisdom is good—even for this reason, because the spirit, this that has come into his possession, which is acquired wisdom, is given by it to the progeny of Aûharmazd, which is innate wisdom, to increase *it*; and Aûharmazd is gratified thereby.

29. Of a summary about the continuance *that* was, the progress of the material *existence*, and the continuance *that will be*<sup>1</sup>, there is also this:—about the continuance *that* was, which is the beginning, *there are* the essential thought and beneficent production of the good and evil material *existence* of its good goodness, and that of *its* evil vileness; about the progress of the material *existence*, which is intermediate, *there are* the dutiful doing of good works, righteousness, and having reward, the committal of crime, wickedness, and having the bridge *penalty*; and about the continuance *that will be*, which is the last, *there are* the government, with wisdom, of that supremely good *one* who is the origin of all the multitudinous *creatures* (*vasikân*), the triumph of goodness over vileness, the admissibility of the good, the inadmissibility of the bad, and the purity of the restoration of the good creatures.

30. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

<sup>1</sup> The three periods of the universe:—the past eternity, the present existence, and the future eternity.

## CHAPTER LI.

*Bakō Nask.*

1. The fifth fargard, Khshmaibyâ<sup>1</sup>, is about this, that complaint is made by Gôs-aûrvan<sup>2</sup> that there did not exist *any one* who properly keeps the cattle that are in his possession; even for this reason, because cattle are increased by such, and others, through design (âhang) and a desire for that increase, act by his example *and* keep cattle properly; *but* the complaint of Gôs-aûrvan is that he does not exist. 2. This, too, that by him who gives orders about the advancement of the concerns of the sacred beings, the care of cattle is produced, and his soul attains to the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the care of cattle is a principal thing in the advancement of the concerns of the sacred beings, *and also* for the preservation of the soul. 3. This, too, that by him who keeps cattle with a controller (dastôbar) who is a cattle-master<sup>3</sup>, even a friend of him who is the creator of cattle is taught to the cattle—the cattle-master and he who is wise in the nourishment, protection, and multiplication of cattle—even for this reason, because when his cattle are kept with a controller who is a nourisher, protector, and multiplier of cattle, the friendship of a nourisher for the nourished, *of* a protector for the protected, and *of* a multiplier for the multipliable is also exhibited by him; *and* the design of the creator for the creation, through affection, is that of a nourisher for the nourished, *of* a protector for the protected, *and of* a multiplier for the multipliable.

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. VI, 1 n; it is here written khshmâîbê in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 2 a.

4. This, too, that by him who maintains an animal with propriety, it is presented to the sacred beings; even for this reason, because when *it* is maintained by him with propriety, the will of the sacred beings drives him on, and when the will of the sacred beings drives him on, it is presented by him to the sacred beings. 5. This, too, that when *one* shall admit the male of animals at the *proper* time, the mastery (*sardārīndanō*) of the animal is also taught by him; even for this reason, because the admission of the male of the animals is the essential business in the multiplication of cattle, and he who is a multiplier has also taught the mastery of the animals. 6. This, too, that by him who does not slaughter an animal until it attains to full growth, the formation of a store for cattle is also taught; even for this reason, because, from the increasing cattle produced, the profit of mankind arises, *and* on account of the liking of mankind for profit, they persevere more fully in cultivating cattle, and provide a store for them.

7. This, too, that *it is he* who is the more powerful of beings—that is, strength is what is more in use *by* him<sup>1</sup>—whose proceeding is for him who is his own, so that he supplies that which it is necessary to supply; even for this reason, because needful bountifulness *to* one's own needy ones arises through lawful thoughts, lawful thoughts are provided by expelling greed, lust, wrath, disgrace, envy, *and* other fiends from the body, and a man expelling a fiend from *his* body becomes of efficient strength. 8. This, too, that he is a very powerful person, for invocation<sup>1</sup>, supplication, and attaining to good works,

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 3 c.

who possesses wealth for the high-priest of the priests, who shall also procure decisions and judgment always justly, and who likewise becomes humble *and* reverent *to* the good; even for this reason, because the wealth of multitudes of mankind is for maintaining the desires and pleasure of the body, *for* procuring decisions and judgment whereto their wishes tend, *and for* others becoming humble and reverent *to* them even when *their* design is vicious; *but he* who possesses wealth *for* invocation *and* connection *with* the wisdom of the religion, through the high-priest of the religion, and shall procure just decisions and judgment, *and* becomes humble and reverent *to* the good, is a putter away of that design and *one* who, through the putting away of that design, becomes a capable *and* very powerful person.

9. This, too, that every one is made to persevere at *his* proper duty, *as to* any excellent thing, by him who holds the reward of the diligent, as the sacred beings are proceeding *with* a pure needy *one*; for this reason, because the toiling of the body of a person at *his* proper duty is induced *by* a desire of reward. 10. This, too, that by him whose mouth (*yōng*)<sup>1</sup> and *its* appliances *are* for virtue, the possession of Vohūman is then explained, through this mode, because the maintenance of the mouth and *its* appliances as virtuous becomes so, when, through protection and assistance *of* the good, *and* defeat and smiting of the vile, the reformation of the world occurs; and this, too, is so, when *there is* an existence of preparation of the friend of the good and the enemy

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<sup>1</sup> See Pahl, Yas. XXIX, 7 c.

of the vile, and of friendship of the good and enmity of the vile, through understanding good and evil; and the understanding of good and evil is through possession of Vohūman, *and* that possession of Vohūman becomes also an explainer of Vohūman.

11. This, too, that by him who gives commands about the progress of the concerns of the sacred beings, his own knowledge of every kind is also developed; even for this reason, because the command *being* necessary *for* the personal duty of the good, they also develope the knowledge of every kind for which that commanding of duty and *its* auspiciousness are suitable. 12. This, too, that by him who teaches the good, the good work is then appropriated which is also an assistance of Zaratûst through speaking of the religion; even for this reason, because, on account of those of the religion of Zaratûst who really constitute the renovation *of the universe*, the speaking connected with Zaratûst—through the teaching of the good *and* teachers not of the same religion—*and* the assistance through speaking of the religion become the good work appropriated.

13. This, too, that by him who gives anything to that person who praises the sacred beings *and* the good, a throne is appropriated *in yonder world*<sup>1</sup>, even on the mention *of it*. 14. This, too, that by him who is teaching that which is for the propitious, the damage that is owing to want of resources<sup>2</sup> in religion is shut out of the world; even for this reason, because, owing to that, he increases the resources of religion of every kind, *and* the ad-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 8 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 9 b.

vantage therefrom, in the world. 15. This, too, that by him who is bringing him who is righteous forth to the rulers, for beneficence, the utmost assistance is then afforded; even for this reason, because an expectation of the utmost beneficence is further attached by him to the place of obtainment<sup>1</sup>.

16. This, too, that by him who gives *himself* in service unto him who is the supreme king of kings, the way of good thinking<sup>2</sup>, of the assistance of pleasure, and of the production of sovereignty by Aûharmazd is disclosed to his own; even for this reason, because the original reason of virtue is the worthiness of mankind owing to the creator and their service unto the creator, and, therefore, as he who is a well-ruling monarch is a creator in the worldly *existence*, and a recompensing (padö-dahâk) leader of the creatures who steadfastly give themselves in service to him, it is then given by him to the creator also; and I teach, besides, that the origin of the virtue of worthiness, which is attached by the creator to his own, is the way that is stated above, and other virtue is also disclosed to his own thereby.

17. Righteousness is excellence *that is perfect*.

## CHAPTER LII.

### *Bakō Nask.*

1. The sixth fargard, *Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ*<sup>3</sup>, is this, that by him who is a wise upholder of the dignity

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 10 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 10 b; we should probably read hû-mânisnîh, 'pleasant dwelling,' instead of hû-mfnisnîh.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. VII, 1 n; it is here written at-takhshê in Pahlavi.

of a priest's leadership, the priestly assembly<sup>1</sup> wanted for performing religious rites (*dēnō*) is enlarged; for this reason, because the nature of the person, whose resources are bounty for the needy, eagerly becomes a causer of exertion for the teaching (*āmūkō*) of accomplishments. 2. This, too, that by him whose habits are virtuous the glorification of Aūharmazd<sup>2</sup> is accomplished and taught; even on this account, for the sake of whatever advantage *and* pleasure are due to virtue, they, indeed, whose habits are virtuous, glorify him, moreover, who is the creator of those virtuous habits, who is Aūharmazd himself. 3. This, too, that by him who speaks virtuous words the performance even of the worship of Vohūman<sup>3</sup> is also taught; even on this account, because of the comeliness and desirableness of virtue, the good make it an example and speak virtuous words, *and* virtuous speaking is the worship of Vohūman. 4. This, too, that the ceremonial which he whose way is virtuous shall accomplish becomes greater<sup>4</sup> thereby; even for this reason, because the sacred beings come more particularly to the ceremonial of those of pure dispositions *and* virtuous ways, and accept *it*.

5. This, too, that he who is a producer of benefit for promoters of good works becomes an extender<sup>4</sup> of the teaching of religion; even for this reason, because from producing benefit for promoters of good works *arises* an increase of good works, from an increase of good works *arises* further progress of the will of the sacred beings, from further progress of the will of the sacred beings *arises* more progress

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 1 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 1 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 1 c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 2 a.

of the good religion, *and* from more progress *of* the good religion arises an extension of the teaching of the good religion in the world. 6. This, too, that by him who possesses authority through virtue, discrimination<sup>1</sup> as to the regulation of duties is taught to mankind; even for this reason, because the possessor of authority through virtue is a man *who* becomes a decider *and* ruler, *and* mankind learn and practise to exercise the disposition, habits, and custom of rulers.

7. This, too, that *he* who is a giver of the needful *to* his own needy ones has given himself to Zaratûst; even for this reason, because the needful *being* given *to* one's own needy ones is the existence of true liberality, which is a compendium of the religion of Zaratûst; by him who is thereby ennobled (*vâspû-harakânt-aitö*) the religion of Zaratûst is then put on, and whoever *has* put on the religion of Zaratûst [has given himself to Zaratûst. 8. This, too, that by him who]<sup>2</sup> gives the leadership [to him who is suitable for the leadership]<sup>2</sup> even the wisdom *of* that man is increased; for this reason, because even the wisdom of the suitable, through which they accomplish that leadership, when the leadership comes to them, grows further with the glory of that duty.

9. This, too, that he who *has* to select the better of two ways, which are good and bad<sup>3</sup>, is assisted

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 2 b.

<sup>2</sup> The words in brackets are the translation of a passage that was inserted in the MS. at the time the folios were patched. The original copyist of the MS. has evidently omitted a passage, but whether the repairer has made the insertion merely by guessing from the context (which is quite possible), or by referring to some other MS., is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 b.

to do *so* by the benefitors' ordeal of fire and ore; even for this reason, because that is discrimination by the eye of wisdom, which is the way of good intention, *and* the benefitors are decisive declarers of acquittal and incrimination through fire and metal, the two good discriminators; and when the business *is of* a different kind, even then both *are* associates in discriminating, and are powerful connections of one another. 10. This, too, that he who shall do that thing from *which* advantage of the sacred beings *arises*, is empowered to discriminate truly that which is sagacious<sup>1</sup> in thought, word, *and* deed; even for this reason, because from doing anything for the advantage of the sacred beings *arises* the reign of the will of the sacred beings in the world, from the reign of the will of the sacred beings in the world *arises* the freedom from danger *of* the temporal existence of the world, *and* the freedom from danger of the temporal existence of the world contributes also to the power of him who is sagacious in discriminating truly as to thought, word, *and* deed.

11. This, too, that by him who thinks of the affairs of Aûharmazd the eternity (*hamâyîkîh*) of Aûharmazd<sup>2</sup> and also the consideration of his own eternity *by* Aûharmazd are thought of; even on this account, because mankind mind and serve Aûharmazd for the sake of even the hope<sup>2</sup> of eternal benefit from him; *and* they who think of him, through the eternal benefit due to him, are themselves increasing that benefit which is eternal, and it is thought eternal by him that thinks of that eternal *thing* his own eternity. 12. This, too, that

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 c.

*he* who restrains a person from reverence of the demons, has diverted him from making the world sickly; even for this reason, because whoever *has* restrained a person from reverence of the demons, has diverted a demon from making the world anarchical *and* from making the world sickly. 13. This, too, that by him who shall practise liberality benefit for the sun is caused, and by him who shall cause benefit for the sun benefit is caused also for the nature of the body of mankind; even for this reason, because *it is* declared *that* the sun *has* progressed through the radiance and glory of the liberal, and the nature of the body of mankind is preserved by the sun.

14. This, too, that by him whose desire is for anything virtuous, and who possesses authority through virtue, mankind are controlled to persist (*mānīnī-danō*) in virtue for receiving a reward<sup>1</sup>; even for this reason, because *he* whose desire is virtuous seeks happiness for every one—a pre-eminent desire for the happiness of human existence *being* the desire of mankind for virtue—and by him who requires that, *and* strives for *it* fully, so far as possible for him, any one whatever is brought to persist in virtue and to constrain the spirit for reward; and by him who possesses authority through virtue the continuance of mankind in authority *and their* persistence *and* instruction in virtue are attached to good works and are brought to reward. 15. This, too, that by him who possesses happiness through appropriation of the sacred beings mankind are attached to the sacred beings for receiving a reward<sup>2</sup>; even for this reason, because, on account of the possession of

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 10 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 10 c.

happiness through appropriation of the sacred beings, he possesses *it* through the assistance and gratification of the good, and mankind shall therefore make him an example; it also becomes a good work for them, *and* they adhere to the sacred beings for receiving a reward.

16. This, too, that by him who produces the benediction *of* him that is a conductor of investigation *and* a righteous judge, and who shall also occasion the reverence of the good, the teaching of the advantage of the righteous<sup>1</sup> is likewise performed; even for this reason, because the essentials (*mâdîgân*) of the advantage of the world are two—one owing to justice, *and* one owing to generosity—and it is declared *that* the advantage of *him* who possesses the blessings of the judges is owing to the justice of the judges, and the advantage of *him* who is reverent *to* the good is owing to the generosity of the good in developing the world, and the righteous teach about *it*.

17. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

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### CHAPTER LIII.

#### *Bakō Nask.*

1. The seventh fargard, Tâ-ve-urvâtâ<sup>2</sup>, is *that* by him who possesses advantage through virtue, the world of righteousness is *freed* from<sup>3</sup> destruction<sup>4</sup>; even for this reason, because the possession of advantage through virtue arises through the non-participation of the demons *and* the vile therein, and the participation of the sacred beings *and* the

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 11 c.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. VIII, 1 n.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that *mân*, 'which,' stands for *min*.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 b.

good; and, when *one* shall act so, the advantage of spiritual origin becomes more powerful through guarding the advantage from the destroyers. 2. This, too, that, by him who welcomes Aûharmazd in *his* person, apostates are likewise forced to make the religion of Aûharmazd progressive<sup>1</sup>; even for this reason, because owing to<sup>2</sup> the apostasy of apostates *being* a religion produced by Aharman, *they are* only able to make the religion progressive through the appellation of Aûharmazd; apostasy and priesthood, and the apostates and priests, are fraternal opponents, and whenever the priesthood and multitudes of the priesthood are triumphant, multitudes of the apostates of apostasy perish (aôshênd), and when the multitudes of the apostates of apostasy are bold, the priests of the priesthood are weak; and the priests are superior *in* power and success when their priesthood is properly limited, and their properly-limited priesthood, too—which can arise through mankind—consists in the welcome precedence of Aûharmazd.

3. About the completeness (*sphorikih*) of the priesthood in that quality now, when the priests of the multitude are the habitation (*mêhônö*) of Aûharmazd, and the power of the priests of the priesthood has increased, the valour of the apostates of apostasy is smitten, and the apostates are defeated by the abundant splendour of the priests, also their power as regards making the religion of Aharman progressive through the appellation of Aûharmazd is fettered, and they keep apostasy concealed<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 c.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming that lâ, 'not,' stands for râî.

<sup>3</sup> The passage in the Pahlavi commentary on this Nask, which

4. And then also they, with the appellation of priests, truly speak and teach the religion of Aûharmazd, and make *it* progressive, just as it is solemnized and made easy by them, even though the will of the sacred beings *be* unheard *and* undesired through apostasy.

5. This, too, that he proclaims the miraculousness of Aûharmazd<sup>1</sup>, who shall appoint for ordeal that which is certainly a doubt; even for this reason, because, through accomplishing an ordeal, that which is doubtful is forcibly rendered visible (*vēnāvda-hakī-aitō*) to the eyes, *as* certain clearness, through the power of the spirit, *which* is itself a miracle of Aûharmazd. 6. This, too, that by him who shall make a public decision thereon, *as to* the acquitted and convicted<sup>2</sup>, gratification is afforded to him whose maintenance of the dispute<sup>2</sup> is righteous; even for this reason, because the needful is delivered by him to its own requirer *who* thereby becomes even renowned. 7. This, too, that even the rite of ordeal [is produced]<sup>3</sup> by him [who is an advantage to the righteous; for this reason, because the rite of ordeal is for the advancement of the ordeal, and the religious ordeal] proceeds through sovereignty; these righteous are those of the good religion, and their advantage is that belonging to the multitude, which is the sovereignty now, *and* every one who is given for that advantage, to the

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is here described, must evidently have been written shortly after some great triumph of the priesthood over some heresy, probably either that of Mâni, or that of Mazdak.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 2 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 3 a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 3 b. The words in brackets translate a passage inserted in the MS. at the time the folios were patched, like that in Chap. LII, 7, 8.

righteous *of* those of the good religion, becomes the performer of any rite of ordeal really produced, because the origin of that giving of advantage is even the rite of ordeal. 8. This, too, that by him who gives a priest and righteous *man* for propagating the religion, the rite of ordeal is also proclaimed; even for this reason, because the teacher and *one* rightly merciful (*hû-âmûr'zidâr*) give<sup>1</sup> the sacred text by which even the rite of ordeal is declared.

9. This, too, that *he* who recites the revelation of Aûharmazd, and who shall do *it* with exceeding goodness, becomes an increaser of wisdom; even for this reason, because the wisdom of a man increases in these two ways, either he speaks *and* teaches himself, or he exemplifies the excellence of a portion to the wise who become speakers and teachers of wisdom. 10. This, too, that his homage is for Aûharmazd, who thoroughly teaches a righteous employer *of* animals and human beings (*kîrâ vavîr*) that he considers *him* as their controller (*dastôbar*); because, since the productiveness of the completion of the creatures is produced through the nourishment of the creatures *by* Aûharmazd through his fulfilling his own productiveness, that righteous employer *in* the world is *intended* for the nourishment of his creatures, owing to that outward subjection and propitiation of theirs, *and* the righteous employer is connected with *their* subjection and propitiation *for* the creator.

11. This, too, that by him who gives thought to the religion of Zaratûst, the soul is given to Zara-

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<sup>1</sup> Assuming that *yehevûnd*, 'they are,' stands for *yehabûnd*.

tūst; even for this reason, because with a man's *having* given thought to the religion of Zaratūst is connected the receiving of his soul by Zaratūst for preservation from hell. 12. This, too, that by him who teaches the nature of the sacred beings to mankind, consultation with Aûharmazd is also further taught; even for this reason, because the nature of the sacred beings is consulting a spiritual lord, *and* becomes also the consulting of Aûharmazd.

13. This, too, that by him who keeps the produce of sheep as the property of Aûharmazd, a sheep is given to him who is diligent *and* moderate<sup>1</sup>; even for this reason, because produce kept as the property of Aûharmazd is for *being* given for good works, *being* given for good works is *being* truly kept as a beginning for the possession of produce, and a beginning truly kept is kept even through a sheep, as a beginning of excellence, in the control (dastôbarîh) of him who is a diligent *and* moderate shepherd<sup>2</sup>.

14. This, too, that by him who is liberal to the liberal the increase owing to developers is brought into the world; even for this reason, because a liberal *man*, on account of even that gift given back to the worthy, becomes even for us—through the development of the world—him who is first praised therein with the sacred beings. 15. This, too, that whoever shall form a store for sheep, becomes an agent even in the development of sheep by the creator; because, on account of the increase of sheep through the existence of nourishment for them *having* arisen, whoever has arranged nourishment for sheep, becomes an agent even in the de-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 10 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 10 b.

velopment of sheep by the creator. 16. This, too, that by him who teaches *inward* prayer (*vâkakô*) to the good, it is also taught to eaters; even for this reason, because, everything connected with eating being declared by the religion, when the religion is taught by *any* one to the good, in which even that information is proclaimed, even eaters are taught about it. 17. This, too, that whoever maintains a sheep, or human being, as our property, is taught to maintain it through the high-priest of Zaratûst; even for this reason, because it is so maintained as the property of the sacred beings, when he maintains *it* as the property of Zaratûst.

18. This, too, that by him who gave predominance to those of the nature of Gâyômard<sup>1</sup>, the sovereignty also of those of the religion of Zaratûst is desired; even for this reason, because the religion of Zaratûst is the nature of Gâyômard, and the nature of Gâyômard is the religion of Zaratûst. 19. This, too, that when *one* is alone among rulers a way of speaking to the rulers such words as are really true is thereby provided; even for this reason, because the utterance of blessings by a solitary person is for advantage. 20. This, too, that by him who keeps the sovereignty which is his within the will of Aûharmazd, the best thing is done unto Aûharmazd; even for this reason, because a sovereignty is so kept within the will of Aûharmazd when he who is the ruler gives to Aûharmazd the individuality in which is the sovereignty, and when its proximity and closeness have given to Aûharmazd that thing which is best and supreme.

21. This, too, that when *one* teaches the sayings

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 11 b, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 1.

(*vākakō*) of the benefitors, the information which is owing to the religion is illustrated<sup>1</sup> by him to his own; even for this reason, because the knowledge of religion, which is in *its* causing liberality by him, is increased even by the repeated enquiry of disciples. 22. This, too, that by him who teaches an applicant the virtuous way and doctrine (*pand*) the liturgy is then taught; even for this reason, because knowledge arises through the virtuous course of the liturgy<sup>2</sup>. 23. This, too, that by him who thinks of the affairs of virtue, the liturgy is maintained *and* taught with virtuousness<sup>3</sup>; even for this reason, because the maintenance of the liturgy with virtuousness arises through virtuous thinking.

24. This, too, that whoever shall provide the nourishment of creatures with propriety, his Vohūman (*good thought*) is Aūharmazd's progeny<sup>3</sup>; and whoever properly maintains those which are in his keeping, his position becomes Aūharmazd's fatherhood of Vohūman<sup>4</sup>; even for this reason, because every proper nourishing is that in which the nourished becomes an offspring such as Vohūman unto Aūharmazd; and every proper protection of the creatures, over those which are protected by it, is a fatherhood such as *that of Aūharmazd* over Vohūman. 25. This, too, that by him who shall provide nourishment with propriety *for* the creation which is good, it is taught *that* the good creation was produced by Aūharmazd; even for this reason, because from the nourishment of the creation with propriety, *together* with the discriminating action of the nourisher, the goodness of the nourished is also

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 6 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 6 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 8 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 8 b.

evident, from the goodness of the nourished creation the goodness of him who is its creator is evident, and the creator of the good creation is Aûharmazd himself.

26. This, too, that whoever shall spiritually make Aûharmazd the ruler over his own person becomes a ruler as to actions<sup>1</sup>; even for this reason, because whoever is making Aûharmazd ruler over *his* person is a leader of wisdom, a leader of wisdom is a decider taking account of sin and good works, taking account of sin and good works is abstaining from sin *and* practising good works, and owing to abstinence *from* sin and practising good works *one* becomes a ruler over actions. 27. This, too, that Spendarmad<sup>2</sup> is given to Aûharmazd by him who is as reverent unto Aûharmazd as a daughter unto a father; even for this reason, because the Spendarmadic nature (Spendarmaðih) is provided by him *for* Aûharmazd.

28. This, too, that for him *who* thinks of the care of cattle *there* arises that wisdom<sup>3</sup> which the control (patih) of cattle gives; even for this reason, because the nature of the wisdom *for* a production of cattle is provided in mankind, and, when mankind apply *their* thoughts to seeking that wisdom, they obtain it. 29. This, too, that by him who is admitting the male *to* cattle at the *proper* time, the care of cattle is also thought of; even for this reason, because the admittance of the male becomes productiveness, and whoever<sup>4</sup> would cause productiveness thinks also of nourishment.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 8 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 9 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 9 a.

<sup>4</sup> Assuming that min, 'from,' stands for mân.

30. This, too, that by him who *has* prepared himself for the priests the way to yonder<sup>1</sup> *world* is taught; even for this reason, because the way to yonder *world* is declared by the religion, and its indicator is the priest; therefore, by him who is prepared for the priests, through discipleship, that way is known and is made known. 31. This, too, that *in* him who shall do that which is something that is an assistance to the renovation of *the universe*, thoughts of the bounty (*dahîh*) of the creator arise; even for this reason, because creativeness is through thinking of the renovation, thinking of the renovation arises through the renovation, the renovation arises through anything which is done that is an assistance of the renovation, the doing of anything that is an assistance of the renovation is through thinking of sagacity, and thinking of sagacity becomes thoughts of the bounty of the creator.

32. This, too, that by him who loves the affairs of the archangels a heart and mind<sup>2</sup>, *for* not being misled from the way of the sacred beings, are recommended to mankind; even for this reason, because from the religion of the sacred beings *being* loved *arises* increasing power of the sacred beings, from the increasing power of the sacred beings *arises* their greater authority among mankind, *and* from the greater authority of the sacred beings among mankind arises the resistance of heart and mind of mankind, even in their not being misled by the very demons. 33. This, too, that whoever shall act with reverence to Vohûman sees the sin which is concealed in *him* mingled with good works there-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 9 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 12 b.

by<sup>1</sup>; even for this reason, because reverence for Vohūman becomes submission (*hērīh*) in virtuousness, with virtuous submission are connected freedom from Kikship and from Karapship<sup>2</sup>, and with freedom from Kikship and from Karapship *is connected one sound of life and eye*, whereby he is an observant decider, and atonement *for* sin arises from good works.

34. This, too, that by him who shall provide liberality for the liberal, the giving of a loan<sup>3</sup> to mankind is also taught; even for this reason, because liberal giving by any one is accounting for his own debt, and he endeavours to repay *it* fully observantly and with complete gratification; besides that, the power of liberality becomes extendible among mankind, *and* through loans and other gifts<sup>3</sup> of generosity (*dahisnīkīh*) they become ardent.

35. This, too, that by him who pays homage (*frā-nāmēdō*) to the affairs of Aūharmazd, as much as he is able, the non-injury of the innocent is also taught; even for this reason, because to intertwine further (*frōvāftanō*) with the affairs of Aūharmazd, as much as possible, is first *to commit* no sin *and* to perform as many good works as possible, *and* abstaining from the essentials of sin is non-injury of the innocent. 36. This, too, that by him who possesses a ruler and high-priest Aūharmazd is

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 13 c, where, after *hōmanīh*, J2, Pt4, and Mf4 insert the following words: *vinās dēn avō kīsfakō gūmīkhō yekavīmīnēdō*, madam aharāyīh ak sardār hōmanīh.

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. *akīkīh va-akarapīh*; see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n for the two idolatrous priestly tribes here alluded to. On its second occurrence the first word is corrupted into *ákās* which closely resembles *akīgīh* in Pahlavi letters.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 14 b.

spiritually made ruler over his person<sup>1</sup>; even for this reason, because, through the requirement of Aûharmazd, the angels are lord and master of the worldly *existence* of that man.

37. This, too, that whoever decides duty and opinion becomes also an informer of others; even for this reason, because it informs others that *he is* possessing wisdom, and this is what is said, that 'the wisdom of a man is evident from *his* deciding as to affairs.' 38. This, too, that whoever shall provide nurture with propriety becomes also an indicator (*dakhshakîndâr*)<sup>2</sup> for others; even for this reason, because the happiness of the nurturer becomes also a happy indicator even *for thee*; and this, too, is what *one* says, that 'always good, happy, and free from serfs'<sup>3</sup> is he who is not a master of vagabonds (*padô-i pûân*).'

39. This, too, that by him who is a ruler who, by a command given, appoints him who is liturgical (*mânsarîk*), and gives anything to him which it is desirable to give, the necessary demeanour for true *and* virtuous statements<sup>4</sup> is taught; even for this reason, because the uttering of true *and* virtuous statements, in fearlessness<sup>4</sup> of rulers, is owing to a well-established sovereignty, and their well-established sovereignty is more particularly through these two *things*, good commanding and helpfulness; when they establish that liturgical *one* by a command given *it is* good commanding, and when they give

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 16 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 17 c.

<sup>3</sup> Pahl. avârûnô; but, as freedom from servants is not exactly an Oriental idea of happiness, the word may also be read anâlônô, a possible variant of anâlânô, 'unlamenting.'

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 19 b.

anything to him which it is desirable to give the helpfulness is provided; also, owing to their good commanding, the helpfulness is a good establishment of the sovereignty, owing to a well-established sovereignty *there* is fearlessness also in uttering true and virtuous statements, and, owing to freedom from concealment in uttering true and virtuous statements, the necessary demeanour for true and virtuous statements arises. 40. This, too, that *he* who gives personal service unto the king of kings, and who considers the product (bar) as the property of Aûharmazd, is empowered for indicating the acquitted and convicted<sup>1</sup> by the spirits, his indicators of the acquitted and convicted; even for this reason, because the person *being* given in service to the king of kings is the preparation (nîvârisnö) of subjection, and the product *being* considered as the property of Aûharmazd is to consider the innocence of *its* origin (bûn) and to make the product well-selecting (hû-kînakö) through virtuousness; owing to the progress of these two, the virtuousness in the world becomes great and increasing productiveness for all the good spiritual and worldly *existences* which are in it, even those who are angels indicating the acquitted and convicted.

41. This, too, that by him who becomes immortal progress<sup>2</sup> for him who is immortally progressive, complete progress<sup>2</sup> is given to him who is completely progressive; and its routine (dâdistân), too,

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 19 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 21 a; amarg-rûbisnîh and hamâk-rûbisnîh are Pahlavi translations of Av. ameretâd and haurvataâd, as may be seen in Ibid. 6 b.

is even this, that by him who wishes<sup>1</sup> to make that which is his own soul immortal, *and* would afford it assistance, every benefit is given to him who is a suppliant *for* every benefit *and* becomes a giver of every benefit which he begs, which becomes an assistance to him whom he asks in attaining thereto.

42. This, too, that whoever gratifies that which is enjoyment renders *his* soul immortal; even for this reason, because the soul subsists through good works, and good works are all those which gratify enjoyment. 43. This, too, that whoever keeps himself always in good works<sup>2</sup> has produced perfection and happiness by any goodness *and* worthiness of his; even for this reason, because keeping oneself always in good works becomes perfect diligence in industry, within perfect diligence in industry is also comprised opposition to any harm whatever, and it is opposition to harm and perfect goodness that are worthy of every happiness.

44. This, too, that by him who possesses wealth as high-priest of the priests, predominance as their high-priest is maintained<sup>3</sup> *and* taught; even for this reason, because the provision of sovereignty and *its* progress are really through wealth. 45. This, too, that by him who would act for the pleasure of others, owing to virtue, the growth *and* increase owing to Vohūman<sup>4</sup> are produced; even for this reason, because that which has given virtuous pleasure is the nourishment of the creatures by the producer of increase and growth.

46. This, too, that by him who welcomes Aūhar-

<sup>1</sup> Written yetībunēd with mū above it as a partial correction into yezbemūnēd which is evidently the proper word.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 21 a.   <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 21 b.   <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 21 c.

mazd in himself<sup>1</sup>, and teaches good works to mankind, every virtuous instruction is taught; even for this reason, because the welcoming of Aûharmazd in oneself is the non-committal of sin, and the teaching of good works to mankind is more particularly the performance of good works oneself; innocence and the practising of good works are the end of every instruction, and he in whom they exist becomes a teacher of every goodness. 47. This, too, that by him who shall occasion benefit through him who is a propagator of good works, the evidence of him who is well-informed<sup>2</sup> is taught through one well-informed; even for this reason, because the chief evidence as to sagacity is to occasion benefit for the good. 48. This, too, that by him who gives commands as to the affairs of Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd is made welcome in his person<sup>3</sup>; even for this reason, because the throne of Aûharmazd in the worldly existence is more particularly in a ruler of well-commanding person.

49. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

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#### CHAPTER LIV.

##### *Bakō Nask.*

1. The eighth fargard, *Hva êtumaiti*<sup>3</sup>, is that by him who teaches wisdom to others the not being deceived by an apostate into confusing a righteous one (aharûbô-barîsh) is also taught<sup>4</sup>; even for this reason, because he who has taught is not deceived.

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<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 22 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 22 a.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. IX, 1 n.; it is here written khvamaîtô in Pahlavi.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 1-4.

2. This, too, that by him who is as reverent *unto* Aûharmazd as a daughter *unto* a father, and who is also a gratifier of virtuous doers, Spendarmad<sup>1</sup> is made one of the archangels, and one is also made to love *her*; even for this reason, because through that Spendarmadic one being reverent *unto* Aûharmazd, and the gratification of the good *by* him, the archangels love and preserve her Spendarmadic nature (Spendarmadīgīh). 3. This, too, that he who is loving Vohûman is taught by his wisdom not to destroy (nasâniñidanō)<sup>2</sup> the religion of Aûharmazd; even for this reason, because wisdom maintains the religion in virtue, and others are taught about it.

4. This, too, that by him who gives *himself* in discipleship unto the priests, *and* who asks again that which he does not understand, learning (âmûkō) is taught; even for this reason, because the asking for knowledge again *by* him who has given *himself* in discipleship to a wise priest, increases knowledge; and the friends of knowledge, therefore, make him an example, and shall practise asking again, that which they do not understand, *from* the disciples of the priests.

5. This, too, that whoever is *in accordance* with Zaratûst, through pure affection, becomes, in like manner, *him* who is giving strength *to* the will of the archangels and the commands of the good; even for this reason, because these two capabilities are of the special nature of Zaratûst. 6. This, too, that through the discrimination of him who loves<sup>3</sup> Vohûman Aû-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 2 c, and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 8 c. It is possible to read the verbal stem gôsh, 'hear,'

*harmazd* is gratified ; even for this reason, because *one* loving Vohūman is loving wisdom and *has* taught wisdom, wisdom taught is discrimination, and the discriminator becomes a gratifier of Aūharmazd.

7. This, too, that whoever gives thought to the religion of Zaratûst is taught wisdom ; even for this reason, because all the wisdom of the good religion is taught to him by giving thought. 8. This, too, that whoever *has* kept wealth in the control<sup>1</sup> of Zaratûst becomes taught, *and* is *one* who is reverent to the benefitors ; even for this reason, because whoever is reverent to the supporters of religion keeps wealth in the control of the supporters of religion, *and*, when kept by him in their control, it is kept by him in that of Zaratûst.

9. This, too, that his destiny is connected with himself who practises industry. 10. This, too, that his good works for arranging the creation become his own who has fully prepared his own person.

11. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

## CHAPTER LV.

### *Bakō Nasķ.*

1. The ninth fargard, Yathâis<sup>2</sup>, is *that* by him who praises Aūharmazd *his* work in the Gâthic lore<sup>3</sup> is taught ; even for this reason, because the reason of the praise even of Aūharmazd is for *his* works, *and* by him who extols any work the performance

instead of dôsh (Av. zush) ; but this is hardly possible in § 2, and gôshîdanô is not the usual Pahlavi for 'to hear.'

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 9 b.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. X, 1 n; it is here written *yatâyîs* in Pahlavi.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 1 a.

of that work is also taught; moreover the work of Aûharmazd, which is the Gâthic lore, is pure goodness. 2. This, too, that by him who increases the propagators of good works priestly-controlled action (*radîk-kûnisnîh*)<sup>1</sup> is taught; even for this reason, because the advancement of merit and the action of priestly chieftainship are the two maxims (*vâkakô*) of one who, when *there* is reason, exalts progressive merit when he increases the propagators of good works; and when progressive merit is exalted priestly-controlled action is praised and also taught.

3. This, too, that what is worthy, *and* what is coveted for every worthy *man*, is produced by him for whom the command of the liturgy is the reckoning for him who is habitually sagacious; and this statement also indicates the explanation of rulers *and* all who are needing those of the world for one combined effort, who, in the immature world, *have* to trust a command that is *at* one time sagacious.

4. This, too, that personal assistance is liberally given (*râdînîdö*) to the creatures of the good *beings* by him whose deeds are an assistance of the renovation of the universe; and this statement, too, also indicates the great power of any good work whatever, because every good work, *being* an assistance of the renovation, becomes liberality to the immature (*khâm*) creation.

5. This, too, that whoever teaches to a son reverence unto his father has also appropriated the reward for reverence unto the creator for teaching that person; even for this reason, because express reverence unto parents and service to them are connected

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<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 1 b.

with reverence unto the creator and service to him. 6. This, too, that whoever is personally progress for him who is his own<sup>1</sup>—that is, for any one whatever among those who are needing him—becomes the happiness of the creator who is the maker of the original good creations; and this statement also indicates as to whom *it is*, when, through him whose decision is progress—which *arises* through that which *occurs* when the decision is given that becomes for every one that which is needful for him—there is happiness that is concentrated. 7. This, too, that by him who is causing benefit for him who is a cultivator cattle<sup>2</sup> are multiplied; even for this reason, because a gratifier of the performers of tillage is multiplying tillage, *and* cattle are the chief tillage of the world.

8. This, too, that the religion which is the way of righteousness is made his own<sup>3</sup> by him who is a good thinker about the religion of righteousness; and this statement, too, also indicates the limit of reliance (*astisnō*) upon the good religion; because whoever is not a good thinker about the good religion, even though he be a reciter of revelation, becomes really an apostate; whoever is a good thinker, *but* not about the good religion, becomes really an infidel; and whoever thinks truly becomes a good thinker about religious righteousness and the statements in the good religion. 9. And about three statements, the bringer forward *for* all mankind is your submission to the sacred beings; one is of the produce (*bar*), one of the origin (*būn*), and

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 3 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 3 b, c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 5 c.

one of the body and life ; that of the produce is the exertion from which *there* is produce, that of the origin is the advantage for which the origin is requisite, and that of the body and life is the thought of the proposer (*râyinidâr*), which considered both as submission to the sacred beings. 10. This, too, that connected with the sitting-place of the sage is the excessiveness of the pleasure<sup>1</sup> for those causing pleasure, for the upper classes (*avarîgânö*) of Irân, and for the energy (*patûkîh*)<sup>1</sup> of the diligent.

11. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

## CHAPTER LVI.

*Bakō Nask.*

1. The tenth fargard, Yâ-shyaothanâ<sup>2</sup>, is *that*, for him who is practising good works<sup>3</sup> as much as *it* is possible for him to do, an efficacious reason for the renovation of the universe is afforded assistance ; even for this reason, when every good work is an assistance to the renovation, then—according to the declaration *that* whoever does much more good work is more assisting the renovation—by him who is practising good works as much as *it* is possible for him to do, an efficacious reason for the renovation is afforded assistance. 2. This, too, that the apostate<sup>4</sup>, who is the seduction of mankind, is injured by him who devotes himself to Aûharmazd ; even for this reason, because he is dislodged and is elucidated

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 13 a.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XI, 1 n; it is here written yâ-shâôtnö in Pahlavi.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 1 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 8 a.

(adīvāgī-aitō rōshani-aitō), and there arises a class of mankind who see the admission (parvānakīh) of the apostate into hell, and he is disabled when *it is seen by them*.

3. This, too, that by him who is eager<sup>1</sup> for knowledge, knowledge is grasped *and* taught; even for this reason, because knowledge is taught through that which is the instruction of every science *and* the original desire for it, and mankind shall extol his knowledge; it is also coveted by them for *being* taught, and they mount and grasp *it*. 4. This, too, that to slay<sup>2</sup> an apostate is taught by the good *one* who is united (hamī-ait) with a good *man*; even for this reason, because the destruction (aōsh) of Aharman arises from the union of the good. 5. This, too, that by him who is a disturber (vishūftār) as to Vohūman the production of development through Vohūmanic rule<sup>3</sup> is taught; sinners lawfully subjected to the bridge *judgment* (pūhalinidō) for Vohūmanic disturbance, and the command for it by rulers and high-priests, being a preparation for the development of the world.

6. This, too, that a great ordinance<sup>4</sup> is taught by him whose ceremonial<sup>5</sup> is for Aūharmazd; even for this reason, because a comprehension of Aūharmazd and serving him are the foundation of joy (parkān būn), and the ownership and concentration (hangerdīkīh) of all good works are themselves the great ordinance of the faithful whose preparation is through the ownership, and their welcome is more particularly in the ceremonial; owing to the same

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 9 a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 11 b.      <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 12 a, b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 10 c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 12 a.

reason, the original possession of the great ordinance of the ceremonial which is Aûharmazd's own, and of other good works—even though relating to the ceremonial of Aûharmazd of every kind owing thereto—is necessary for the manifestation of the great ordinance, and is incorporated (ham-tanû) with it when it becomes manifest as a great ordinance, or as more than a great ordinance; even then its extent (vâlisnô) is over this joy. 7. This, too, that the performance (sakhtârîh) of a ceremonial<sup>1</sup> of the needy is a gift to the worthy of the creation, and a gift to the worthy of the creation is the attraction (hâkhtârîh) of a ceremonial of the needy.

8. This, too, that the way of righteousness<sup>2</sup>, also that through which that way is seen, and likewise the reward of those lonely-labouring (aêvar'zîkân) therein are taught by him whose deeds are an advantage to the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the advantage of the sacred beings is the advantage of the multitude, and the advantage of the multitude, which is itself the religion of the sacred beings that is a guide, is the way of righteousness and also that through which is the reward of those lonely-labouring. 9. This, too, that even the reward of a teacher of professionals, which is the profit of the profession, is liberally given and appropriated for the professionals taught; even for this reason, because the business of the sacred beings has profited by the instruction (âmûkô).

10. Excellence that is perfect is righteousness.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 12 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 12 c.

## CHAPTER LVII.

*Bakō Nask.*

1. The eleventh fargard, the Yasna<sup>1</sup>, is *that* the whole of the good works *which are* to accomplish, *and* those, too, which are accomplished<sup>2</sup>, are appropriated by the righteous man who teaches virtue<sup>3</sup> to the righteous; even for this reason, of the good works which *one* accomplishes, *and* those, too, which are accomplished, *there* is all one store (anbâr), from the work (var'zö) of the original good creation even to the renovation of the universe, and ever afresh the teaching of virtue *by those* who are righteous comes to the accumulation of the righteous and the accomplishment of that store, *and* they, too, are in possession of that store, *in* partnership with the other righteous. 2. This, too, that *it is* because he would do the best for his own<sup>4</sup>, whose meditation of the liturgy is for those who are archangels, and who also maintains, for the assistance of the good, the strength which is his for the existences. 3. And this statement indicates the great participation of any one in that store, because when that store is really an accumulation of work on the way, for the partners in that store who *have done* more, and also those who *have* accomplished less, *and* remains, moreover, in the possession of them all, then, *as to* those accomplishing more of it, through the original possession of most of that work, and also through that which *occurs* when the accomplishers have attained to that plenty more particularly owing to their more labour, and likewise through the property, liberally,

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XII, 1 n; it is here written yastô in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 5.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 4.      <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 6.

largely, and lordlily, of those accomplishing more, and the indigence, unafflictedly<sup>1</sup>, scantily, and subordinatey, of those accomplishing less, *it is* reasonable to speak of that store *as* in their possession, and *of their* superiority *as* greatly over those accomplishing less. 4. This, too, that his work is good work whose liberality is for the archangels; even for this reason, because through a little labour *for* the sacred beings, which is itself that liberality, he contributes duty and good works.

5. This, too, that it becomes best for him, in both existences<sup>2</sup>, who teaches a wishing for living in diligence to mankind; even for this reason, because he is a preserver of them through the wishing for living, and *his* soul, through the diligence owing to him, attains perfection, here from mankind *and in* yonder *world* from the sacred beings. 6. This, too, that the ceremonial and obeisance of Aûharmazd<sup>3</sup> are performed by him who is in the way of like thinking and like praising of the law of Aûharmazd with all the worshippers of Aûharmazd. 7. This, too, that he is in the leadership of his religion<sup>4</sup> who makes the knowledge of religion ever afresh; even for this reason, because every item of knowledge which he provides increases some greatness of it. 8. This, too, that he is in the service of his religion<sup>4</sup> who demands the knowledge of religion ever afresh; even for this reason, because so long as he demands more, he becomes nearer to a knowledge of religion.

<sup>1</sup> Pahl. abêshîhâ, but it should perhaps be avêshîhâ, 'unabundantly.'

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 22.

9. This, too, that mankind's wishing for life is authorised (*dastovarīnīdō*) by him who authorises the production of anything for mankind; even for this reason, because authority (*dastōbarīh*) over the production of anything is conjoined with that which is for the wishing for life; so that whoever production of anything is authorisedly, their life is *free* from any discomfort; and whoever wishing for life is authorisedly, his production of anything is also authorisedly. 10. This, too, that acceptance, hints, and words are given<sup>1</sup> to Aûharmazd by him who asks again, that which he does not understand of the religion, from him who does understand; even for this reason, because knowledge is completed through these three *things*: obtainment, hints, and speaking, and all three are asked again by him who does not understand. 11. This, too, that the words of Aûharmazd<sup>2</sup> are taught by him who teaches the acceptance, remembrance, and speaking of the religion; even for this reason, because this is the recital of that compendium (*hangerādīkīh*).

12. This, too, that the care<sup>3</sup> and reverence of fire are provided by him who is liberal to a fire as regards anything he supplies for the care and reverence which *others* shall provide for the fire, and he becomes equally rewarded for it. 13. This, too, that by him who teaches the religion of Aûharmazd with joyfulness<sup>4</sup>, the care and reverence of fire are

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 1. This section implies that the attendant who feeds a fire with fuel supplied by others, obtains an equal share of merit with them.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 4, 5.

provided as declared by the religion; even for this reason, because even that *which is* taught by him combines with the action due to that teaching.

14. This, too, that the obeisance<sup>1</sup> to those requiring obeisance is arranged *by him* who loves Vohūman.

15. This, too, that fire is strengthened—for that work, achieved in the future existence, which is the greatest<sup>2</sup> that exists—by him who invokes fire with the title of fire; even for this reason, because the title is put by him upon a nature that is laudable, and when invoked by him with that title the praised one is then strengthened by him.

16. This, too, that he becomes informed as to the religion of Aûharmazd<sup>3</sup>, who teaches the religion of Aûharmazd with pleasure; even for this reason, because every knowledge is exercised *and* increased by teaching.

17. This, too, that Aûharmazd is propitiated by the excellent sagacity of him who teaches virtuous words and actions<sup>4</sup>; even for this reason, because sagacity *has* two parts, the speakable and the workable.

18. This, too, that the bodily form (*kerpō*) of Aûharmazd is praised as perfection (*nêvakötûmîh*)<sup>5</sup> by him who elevates (*bâlistinêdö*) his own soul<sup>6</sup> to the station of the sun<sup>7</sup>; even for this reason, because that bodily form of Aûharmazd exists, and becomes the loftiest *and* most perfect in the station of the sun.

19. This, too, that all excellence is purely produced for Aûharmazd by him who has root in the

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 16; the highest grade of heaven below the supreme heaven, which latter is called Garôdmân (see Sls. VI, 3 n.).

possession of Aûharmazd; even for this reason, because, when a root is given to him, fruit is also produced by him, and all excellence is *both* root and fruit<sup>1</sup>. 20. This, too, that Aûharmazd is invoked with the title 'lord<sup>2</sup>' by him whom Aûharmazd calls; even for this reason, because the interpretation of 'Aûharmazd' is really with *the words* 'greatly wise lord' (mas dânak khûdâi). 21. This, too, that the names of the sacred beings *which are* invoked<sup>3</sup> are the praise glorified by *any* one, and by him who glorifies them they are named; even for this reason, because the names of the sacred beings are the glorification due to their names of praise. 22. This, too, that among those of the same class (ham-gôharân), when he shall do *it* for one race<sup>4</sup>, benefit is produced by him for other races within that class; among those of the same races (ham-tôkhmakânân), when he shall produce benefit for one species, *it is done* by him also for other species within that race; and among the same species (ham sarâdakö), when he shall produce benefit for one individual (kerpö), *it is done* by him for other individuals within that species.

23. This, too, that his personality (khûdîh) is the sacred beings' own<sup>5</sup>, who maintains the rites<sup>6</sup> with the assistance of the righteous. 24. This, too, that his own is in the guardianship<sup>7</sup> of the sacred beings, whose vehemence is through Good Thought;

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXVII (=V), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 10-12.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 13-15.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIX, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Assuming that *m̄ḡ* atân stands for *m̄ḡ* âyinân, as mân atân is ungrammatical.

<sup>7</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIX, 15.

even for this reason, because his bravery is for the law. 25. This, too, that life is given to mankind by him who shall do that which is able to remain good for them. 26. This, too, that the friendship of Aûharmazd is appropriated by him who has Aûharmazd as a guardian, and perpetual guardianship is appropriated by him who teaches to mankind that thing which becomes their perpetual guardianship *in yonder world*.

27. This, too, that he causes righteousness<sup>1</sup> who thinks of anything which is virtuous. 28. This, too, that he has caused the good commands and propitiousness<sup>2</sup> of Aûharmazd, who gives *his* body and life<sup>3</sup> to the sacred beings; and body *and* life are given to the sacred beings by him who affords friendship to the religion of Zaratûst. 29. And this, too, that to him who affords friendship to Aûharmazd it occurs owing to the guardianship of Aûharmazd; and that guardianship is perpetually<sup>4</sup> connected with him who teaches to others that thing which always constitutes their companionship with the sacred beings.

30. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

*Bakô Nask.*

1. The twelfth fargard, Ustavaiti<sup>5</sup>, is *that* the benefit of him who is reverent *to* the benefitors is the benefit of any one whatever<sup>6</sup>; even for this

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XL, 7.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLI, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 17.

<sup>5</sup> See Chap. XIII, 1 n; it is here written aûstâitô in Pahlavi.

<sup>6</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a.

reason, because the benefit of the immature creation is owing to carrying *out* the commands of a benefiting spiritual lord. 2. This, too, that whoever pleases superiors by submission, is pleased by inferiors. 3. This, too, that by him who gives thought to the religion of Zaratûst, that which is best for his own in every mode<sup>1</sup> is produced, because he has attained to the religion who is listening best. 4. This, too, that virtue is taught by him to all the creatures of the beneficent spirit, *to* the righteous whose stepping forth (*fravâmisnô*) is for the righteous; even for this reason, because the creatures of the beneficent spirit are all *of* one nature, *and* the stepping forth (*fragâmisnô*) and hastening of the limbs of one body become those of the whole *of* that body. 5. This, too, that his spirit is connected with Aûharmazd<sup>2</sup>, and his knowledge is accepted, who loves Vohûman; even for this reason, because the spirit *who* is the original spiritual lord of knowledge is Vohûman. 6. This, too, that just giving is taught by him whose words are through Vohûman<sup>3</sup>; even for this reason, because the speaking of virtuous words becomes the teaching of knowledge in which *there* is also just giving.

7. This, too, that joy which is of long duration is produced<sup>4</sup> for his own by him who brings forth strength through virtue, *and* who also assists him who is unborn; even for this reason, because joy which is perpetual increases by both. 8. This, too, that by him who is an assistance of those in the proper way, the proper way is taught to mankind<sup>5</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 2 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 2 c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 2 d.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 2 e.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 3 b.

even for this reason, because *he* is making mankind long for *that* way. 9. This, too, that heat is given to fire<sup>1</sup> by him who *tells* truth to the invokers; even for this reason, because the adversary—owing to the heat of the fire achieved *by* the indicator of truth—is more particularly subdued by the strength of that just *one*.

10. This, too, that the assistants for the renovation of the universe are the decrees of Vistâsp<sup>2</sup>—which are through Vohûman—of Sôshâns<sup>3</sup> and Kai-Khûsrôî<sup>4</sup>; even for this reason, because the fragments are possessing a renewer which is their own completion<sup>5</sup>, and the completion—which is through the assistance of the renovation by Vistâsp—is through what occurs when the religion is set going by him, through which the renovation arises; and the triumph of the completion, which is through an ordinance by Sôshâns, is through what occurs when through the ordinance *there* is thus a decree which sets aside all distress from the creatures, *and* gives the ordinance *to* the whole material existence, that which is living and also that which is dead. 11. This, too, that whoever intrusts it with a command given—which command given intrusts him who supplies the command from revelation—and it worships what is

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 4 d.

<sup>2</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 4 e, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14.

<sup>4</sup> In the MS. the letters srô are omitted from this name which might, therefore, be read Kayânag; but Kai-Khûsrôî (see Chap. XXIII) is considered as one of the assistants of the renovation (Dd. XXXVI, 3), probably on account of his opposition to idolatry (Bd. XVII, 7).

<sup>5</sup> Pahl. maman bâharânô kashtâr-hômônd-î nafşman spôrikîh.

necessary to worship, is thereby displayed among the existences *as* the progeny of Aûharmazd<sup>1</sup>.

12. This, too, that the defeat of the bad and the acceptance of the good<sup>2</sup> are taught by him who shall provide a righteous gift for the worthy; because both are therein. 13. This, too, that ability for even the transformation of the creatures<sup>3</sup> of Aûharmazd is taught by him who loves Vohûman; even for this reason, because the forward-dragging, and also the backward-dragging, power—which is in mankind—is qualified, through changeableness of will, for even the actions of the Vohûmanic nature. 14. This, too, that power is taught, to that spirit through whom the creatures are changed, by him whose wisdom is for that which is wisdom; even for this reason, because that spirit is wisdom, *and* increases in mankind through instruction. 15. This, too, that by him who praises the religion like a disciple, and who also teaches *it* like a priest<sup>4</sup>, it is shown that Sôshâns<sup>4</sup> really comes; even for this reason, because the religion, from the first praiser and teacher *down* to the last praiser and teacher, is connected by discipleship and priesthood, *and* Sôshâns becomes a disciple *in* the end, and the last priest.

16. This, too, that the wisdom of Aûharmazd<sup>5</sup> is taught by him who shall supply decisions and adjudication from the religion; even for this reason, because the decision of religion is the wisdom of Aûharmazd. 17. This, too, that complete mindfulness, so that they are not deceived<sup>5</sup>, is taught

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 5 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 5 d.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 5 e; assuming that dâm-var'zisnîh, 'accomplishment of the creatures,' stands for dâm-vardisnîh.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 6 d.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 6 e.

through wisdom by him who is as reverent *to* Aûharmazd as a daughter *to* a father; even for this reason, because the reverence of a daughter unto a father arises mostly through natural sympathy (*âhang-i kîtrik*), and through the intellectual complete mindfulness of the daughter.

18. This, too, that maintaining the destinies (*vakhtân*) of the body through the command of the creator is taught by him who teaches the righteous *man* and the wicked *one* that thing which becomes comfort to them, *to the righteous man* as to *his* body, and *to the wicked one* as to *his* soul; even for this reason, because he becomes a friend of the creatures, a friend of the creatures is also a friend of creativeness, and a friend of the creator maintains body and wealth through the command of the creator, and others are taught by him. 19. This, too, that joy owing to him who is powerful is taught him who is righteous only by him—that is, he is conveying him to the rulers for benefit<sup>1</sup>—who is an assistance of him who is righteous through capability, that is, he shall do it through exertion of power; even for this reason, because, when he has provided as much assistance as *it* is possible for him to do, his praise arises through that benefit which is pre-eminent through his exertion. 20. This, too, that the benefit of sovereignty for that which arises<sup>2</sup> is taught only by him who always thoroughly teaches authority (*patîh*) up to dictatorship (*vispô-farmânîh*); that is, he teaches to others that thing which always arises for them up to dictatorial authority; this is where it is connected by them with the

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 8 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 8 d.

renovation of the universe through the control which is in the tree of germs<sup>1</sup>.

21. This, too, that he becomes liberal to fire<sup>2</sup> who shall perform work for fire that is its protection, and so it is taught about *it* through the obeisance by him whose liberality—that is his through the obeisance—becomes liberal, *and* whose declaration, that arises as to Vohūman, possesses wealth through virtue.  
 22. This, too, *that* this thinking as to righteousness<sup>3</sup> is taught only by him—that is, he thinks—whose petition for righteousness is ever afresh. 23. This, too, that the religion is interrogated<sup>4</sup> by him who is submissive to superiors and similarly situated (ham-gâk) to inferiors.

24. This, too, that the state of the present *world* (latammanth) for the Mazda-worshipping religion is thoroughly taught where whatever becomes a progress<sup>5</sup> of the religion is whatever is purification for mankind; even for this reason, because the want of progress of the religion is owing to the want of purification of mankind as to the fiend, and when a human being is purified from the fiend, the progress of the religion becomes different. 25. This, too, that pleasure is taught to him who is a friend<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the many-seeded tree of all germs, opposed to harm and called the proper-curing, energetic-curing, and all-curing; it is renowned in Aîrân-vég and grows in the wide-formed ocean near the Gôkerenô, or white-Hôm plant, which latter is one of the ingredients of the elixir producing immortality in the future existence (see Bd. IX, 5, 6, XVIII, 9, XXVII, 2, XXIX, 5).

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 9 d which Pt<sub>4</sub> and Mf<sub>4</sub> supply as follows:—Aêdânô avô hanâ-i lak âtâs râdô hômônâm pavan nîyâ-yisnô.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 9 e.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 10 c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 11 d.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 14 a.

only by him—that is, he gives it—who is a pleasure to him who is a friend ; and its routine is really this, that by him who causes pleasure to friends, his *having* caused pleasure is taught also to them. 26. This, too, that, owing to him whom Aûharmazd teaches joy, it is taught *that* gratification<sup>1</sup> comes from Aûharmazd ; even for this reason, because he is exalted, even in the worldly *existence*, through that joy which is supreme, and mankind are thereby taught.

27. This, too, that the augmentation of indications as to intellect is taught to him who is a vigorous-minded (*tûstö-mînisnö*) man<sup>2</sup>, by him whose own progress is that towards his own sacred beings ; even for this reason, because he fully considers, *and* delivers the decision, of his own powers, of those, too, of *his* contemporaries (*ham-budikânö*), *and* likewise of the chivalry (*kîrîh*) of the age ; and others are taught about *it* by him. 28. This, too, that the spirit of Aûharmazd<sup>3</sup> is expounded only by him—that is, he loves *it*—whose close exposition is of Aûharmazd ; even for this reason, because he becomes similarly loved with Aûharmazd, so that<sup>4</sup> . . . 29. And this, too, that the reward is taught in the publicity of the sun<sup>5</sup> by him whose friendship is for the Spîtâmân, which also increases in the day—that is, it is necessary to perform duty and good works in the day—but he does not put *it* aside the second day ; even for this reason, because friendship for the religion is through kind regard ;

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 14 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 15 c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 16 a.

<sup>4</sup> Some clause appears to be omitted here.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 16 d.

and duty in *one* day, only to put *it* aside for the second day, becomes affliction (*vêsh*) *at* the bridge of judgment; also the sun is the most kindly-regarding and swiftest of those visible.

30. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

## CHAPTER LIX.

### *Bakô Nask.*

1. The thirteenth fargard, *Tad-thwâ-peresâ*<sup>1</sup>, is *that* the obeisance<sup>2</sup> of the archangels is performed by him who is educated in the recitation *for* the archangels of *one* learned in the religion, which is when *he has* to understand the recitation and to maintain the recitation of revelation with propriety, which is when an enumeration, or form (*âinakô*), as to the qualities of the archangels exists, which is the obeisance *for* the sacred beings. 2. For, on this subject, *one* mentions seven kinds of *men*<sup>3</sup>, educated, or well-educated, or ill-educated, who are connected with it in statements by those of the world; the merely educated *man*, particularly also the physician, explains this which is not mentioned *and* does not occur, that *it is* well, or ill, disposed<sup>4</sup>; the merely well-educated *man*, particularly also the physician, explains this which is mentioned *and* occurs, that *it is* well-disposed; the merely ill-educated *man*, and

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XIV, 1 n; it is here written *tad-spâg-peres* in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 1 b.

<sup>3</sup> These appear to be the four kinds of ordinary men, and the three kinds of physicians, detailed in the following clauses.

<sup>4</sup> *Khu* (Pâz.) *ayôv dûsîm*.

also the physician, explains this which is mentioned and occurs, that *it is ill-disposed*; and the merely uneducated *man* explains anything whatever that is really life<sup>1</sup>. 3. *One* educated in the recitation *for* the sacred beings, who when—on account of the necessity of speaking evil about a learned man—he is mischievous (*anâg*), so that he keeps in viciousness, and *has* remained in the obeisance *for* the sacred beings, is called not ransomed (*lâ tâkhtik*). 4. *One* ill-educated in the recitation *for* the sacred beings, which is when *it happens* that he keeps in viciousness, becomes even an apostate who is acquainted with the religion. 5. *One* uneducated in what *pertains to* the sacred beings is of two kinds, either good<sup>2</sup> and void of learning, or an evil *one* who is void of knowledge; the good and void of learning worships the sacred beings unobservantly with the proper rites, and the evil *one* who is void of knowledge thinks to worship the sacred beings unobservantly with improper rites, and *has* no means of trustworthy reliance upon the religion of the sacred beings and their obeisance. 6. And *one* well-educated in what *pertains to* the sacred beings, through the three words of the connected series (*ham-padvandisnfh*) which is good (*khu*) and learned<sup>3</sup>, and through what *pertains to* the sacred beings, expounds faithfully the object of the obeisance *for* the sacred beings.

7. This, too, that, by him who teaches to mankind that thing which becomes their hope of eternity, mankind are taught to come to the religion of

<sup>1</sup> Apparently *khayâ-k* badly written in B.

<sup>2</sup> Páz. *khu*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably ‘good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.’

the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the Vohūmanic attainment<sup>1</sup> to the religion of the sacred beings is to be required wisely for them, its requirement wisely for them is a benefit for the steadfast and becomes a consideration (*mīnīh*) for them, and the consideration of the benefit of the steadfast is through hope of the eternity which is provided for the benefit, on account of which the hope of eternity—which is the basis—is the reason even of the acceptance of the religion.

8. This, too, that the perfection of the first among the existences<sup>2</sup> is taught by him who *has* retentively remembered his words; even for this reason, because remembrance is the acme of every perfection.

9. This, too, that he becomes a nourisher of good works who shall perform good works publicly; even for this reason, because others are taught thereby, and good works increase in the world. 10. This, too, that by him who has fruit in the possession of Aūharmazd the development of the world in virtue<sup>3</sup> is taught; even for this reason, because a lawful preserver and a producer of liberality arise through the fruit, they enlarge the root of the power of the angel of liberality, and pluck *its* fruit; the world is improved thereby, *and* mankind are taught about *it*.

11. This, too, that, through complete mindfulness, words *and* actions<sup>4</sup> are truly taught by him whose ceremonial is for complete mindfulness; even for this reason, because there are both words *and* actions in the ceremonial.

12. This, too, that the sagacious creativeness (*far-zānak dahīh*) of Aūharmazd is taught, which is

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 1 e.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 2 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 2 d.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 6 c.

the exposition, to Aûharmazd<sup>1</sup>, of the production of the renovation; even for this reason, because the advantage of the sagacity of Aûharmazd is the consequence of its beginning, and *its* middle is through the power of the goodness and knowledge of him himself, and because *it is* destiny as regards the creations; and whoever possesses that power for the assistance of the renovation, is extolled for that sagacity, and *people* are taught thereby. 13. This, too, that the reward of Zaratûst is appropriated by him who decides about duty and opinion<sup>2</sup>; even for this reason, because, through that discrimination, *he is* similar to Zaratûst.

14. This, too, that the recitation of revelation is performed *for* mankind by him who extends the propagation of the religion<sup>3</sup>; even for this reason, because, owing to the gratification of virtuous practisers, virtue increases. 15. This, too, that the religion of Aûharmazd is made progressive<sup>4</sup> by him who shall perform the ceremonial of Aûharmazd; even for this reason, because through that performance of his occurs the blessing of the provider of the rite (*nîrangînîdâr*). 16. This, too, that that perfectly righteous *man* of just judgment is protected from the annoying spirit<sup>4</sup> by him who possesses the resemblance (*ângûnagîh*) unto Vohûman that they behold and resources through virtue; even for this reason, because the vexation which is partaken by him (*the spirit*), owing to the just judgment among those of the nature (*kîharikân*) of mankind, is redoubled (*dôkâni-aîtö*) by their pleasure owing to the Vohûmanic resemblance, *and* the annoying spirit

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 8 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 17 c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 15 d, 17 c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 11 e.

is disabled (akârî-hênd)<sup>1</sup> by that accumulated vexation which occurs for his annoyance.

17. This, too, that the exploits of the archangels are taught by him who is really capable in what pertains to the archangels; even for this reason, because they become the hope of a consoling (vêdvar) end, and are also indicative of the renovation of the universe, the hope of a virtuous end.

18. This, too, that the words of him who is Zaratûst, that 'people shall become suppliant,' are taught by him who is for the benefitors; even for this reason, because they who are benefitors, on account of an inclination for the religion, make others eager for the religion, and make them mount for prayer.

19. And this, too, that by him who gives anything to a righteous man, this is also done that some one else may give even to him who is vile; even for this reason, because a foundation of liberality is thereby prepared for him<sup>2</sup>.

20. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

## CHAPTER LX.

### *Bako Nask.*

1. The fourteenth fargard, *Ad-fravakhshyâ*<sup>3</sup>, is that whatever is instruction is to be listened to<sup>4</sup> here as much as is possible, and he who is not to be

<sup>1</sup> The Pâz. equivalent of akârîh-hômand.

<sup>2</sup> Implying that he is himself vile who gives to the righteous merely to induce others to give to himself.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XV, 1 n; it is here written *ad-fravakhshê* in Pahlavi.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 1 a.

taught is allowed an opportunity *for* listening by Zarātūst.

2. This, too, that by him who would be a causer of procreation for performers of labour, the perfect nature of the performance of the first next-of-kin marriage<sup>1</sup> is praised ; because causing the procreation of performers of labour is the fatherhood of mankind, the proper fatherhood of mankind is through the proper production of progeny, the proper progeny of the producer is through the accomplishment of progeny among his own, according to the disposition of the first creatures, and the accomplishment of progeny among one's own is next-of-kin marriage ; and that which *occurs*, when a causer of the procreation of performers of labour praises the fatherhood of mankind, *is that* next-of-kin marriage is also praised by him.

3. This, too, that by him whose creatures are in virtue, owing to his virtuous nourishment of the creatures, the performance of next-of-kin marriage<sup>2</sup> is taught, *and* the virtue is his virtue ; even on this account, because, for the sake of keeping the creatures in virtue, he allows (*andazədə*) for the virtuous disposition pertaining to the multitude, *and* that which is born he produces (*dahədə*) as lineage from the next-of-kin marriage pertaining to the multitude.

4. This, too, that *Spendarmad* is in daughterhood<sup>3</sup> to *Aūharmazd* is taught by him whose wisdom is through complete mindfulness ; even for this reason,

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 c. §§ 2-5 have been already translated, somewhat differently, in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 395, 396.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 4 d. For *Spendarmad* see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

because *his* wisdom and complete mindfulness are within limits which are Aûharmazd and Spendarmad, the wisdom *being* that of Aûharmazd, the complete mindfulness that of Spendarmad, and the complete mindfulness *being* the offspring of the wisdom just as Spendarmad is of Aûharmazd; and, owing to this, the assertion is reasonable that, by him whose complete mindfulness is connected with wisdom, it is taught *that* Spendarmad is in daughterhood to Aûharmazd. 5. This, too, that thus the exercise of that daughterhood is taught by him whose righteousness is through complete mindfulness, and whose ceremonial is also through complete mindfulness; that is, he shall perform the ceremonial and other good works fully mindfully.

6. This, too, that mankind are attracted to religious good deeds by him who shall provide benefit for the people through actions *and* words; even for this reason, because those actions are religious good deeds, and, when instituted by him, *others* are also taught by him. 7. This, too, that reverence *for* Vohûman<sup>1</sup> is taught by him who shall make that which is contaminated obvious to the eye, so that what is dark *becomes* light; even for this reason, because the display of the work of Vohûman thereby has also taught the offer of reverence *for* Vohûman. 8. And this, too, that the ceremonial is taught with complete mindfulness<sup>2</sup> only *by him* who teaches words and actions with complete mindfulness.

9. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 9 e.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 10 a.

## CHAPTER LXI.

*Bakō Nask.*

1. The fifteenth fargard, Kamnamaēza<sup>1</sup>, is about the reply of Aūharmazd to Zaratûst, as to that which was asked by him thus: ‘To which lands do I step<sup>2</sup>?’ and it is thus: ‘Do thou march (sagîtûn) there where the man, in whose person righteousness is connected with complete mindfulness, is welcome; this, too, is where happy is he from whom there is no complaint.’

2. This, too, that mankind are made diligent in good works by him who produces progress for good works; even for this reason, because mankind attain progress in manifest duty who engage more particularly in good works. 3. This, too, that the teaching of religion is the public action which is prescribed by him who would produce exertion for the righteous, that is, benefit for those of the good religion; even for this reason, because the multitude (kabedân) approach the religion, and are taught and practise it, on account of a desire for benefit. 4. This, too, that it is in a province of even exhausted production<sup>3</sup> that it is taught by him who appoints a virtuous governor over the province; even for this reason, because a virtuous governor of a province becomes a teacher of ability and good works to those of the province.

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XVI, 1 n; it is here written kāmnamēzō in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 1 a; reading val kadâr damikân vâmam (=gâmam, see Chap. LVIII, 4).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 4 b.

5. This, too, that the good protection of fire<sup>1</sup> is taught by him whose words are through Vohūman, and who also would provide a time for the ordeal of that which is doubtful; even for this reason, because he whose words are utterable through Vohūman, and who would provide a time for the ordeal of that which is doubtful, teaches the provision of care for the operative fire, owing to that which occurs when what is accomplished, about one acquitted or convicted by the fire, is declared, and mankind shall provide more particularly for the brilliancy of the fire, and the wicked more for assistance and protection from it.

6. This, too, that whoever shall provide about him who liberally gives himself in discipleship<sup>2</sup> unto the priests, has thereby taught even by the mention of the high-priest; even for this reason, because the person being given in discipleship unto the priests, the religion practised by the high-priest arises also for mention, and whoever shall provide generosity for that person, has increased and also taught that action, which is religion, even by the mention made.

7. This, too, that men and women<sup>3</sup> are taught as being given in discipleship<sup>4</sup> to Zaratûst by him who keeps his own males and females in the control of Zaratûst. 8. This, too, that goodness is taught by him to those (valman) who are good, so that they produce it who give to that righteous one the worthiness which is through that wealth; the righteous one who is worthy is one of the good religion for whose production of the worthiness which is through that wealth it is sought, and that wealth which is

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 7 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 10 a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 9 d.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 10 b.

coveted is wealth of little trouble *and* much advantage, through the goodness and idea of virtue of the giver to the account of him who is the accepter of the good worthiness. 9. This, too, that through his *Kinvad* passage (*Kis-vidarg*) it is taught that they shall step forth (*frôvâmând*)<sup>1</sup>; *and* by him who goes on through anything (*kis*) openly, when he *has* proceeded publicly on the right path, *one* passed *away* on the *Kinvad* passage is taught.

10. This, too, that by him whose ceremonial is through complete mindfulness it is taught that the world produces abundance through complete mindfulness<sup>2</sup>; even for this reason, because it is taught by him, through that disposition of his *for* the sacred beings (*pavan zak-i valman yazdânô khîm*), *that* the developed world is shown *to be* theirs; *and* here *below* it is fully taught by him, *that* Khûrdad and Amûrdad<sup>3</sup>—*that* is, the sacred beings—produce *it* for the benefitors. 11. This, too, that thus he who is wicked, even he who is privileged, becomes unprivileged at that time when every one understands, that is, when righteousness is aloft. 12. This, too, that when he who is privileged is Vistâsp<sup>4</sup>, likewise he who is privileged is the righteous Zaratûst<sup>5</sup>, *and* so he who is the wicked Argâsp<sup>6</sup> is unprivileged.

13. This, too, that creation is taught by him to

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 10 e, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 12 c.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XIX, 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 13 e.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 14 a, which is supplied by Pt4, Mf4, thus:—Zaratûstô mûn lak aharûbô dôstô.

<sup>6</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 4.

Aþharmazd, so that he creates, and this, too, that the archangels are taught by his will, whose contentment<sup>1</sup> is through that of the archangels, so that he observes the conclusion in the affairs of the archangels. 14. And this, too, that wisdom is taught to him who is Zaratûst—so that it becomes his—by him whose thoughts are for Zaratûst<sup>2</sup> and for the religion of Zaratûst.

15. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

## CHAPTER LXII.

### *Bakō Nask.*

1. The sixteenth fargard, Spentâ-mainyû<sup>3</sup>, is that the religion is lodging in him who is himself wise, or becomes a hearer of the wise. 2. This, too, that the deeds of complete mindfulness are practised<sup>4</sup> and taught by him who becomes himself completely mindful. 3. This, too, that *whoever* shall openly perform good works becomes a nourisher of good works.

4. This, too, that the spirit of fatherhood becomes lodging in him who nourishes the creatures with propriety<sup>5</sup>. 5. This, too, that pasture is given<sup>6</sup> to cattle is taught by him who shall provide care for cattle, because the giving of pasture to them with care is advantageous.

6. This, too, that all for his good who becomes a benefit to him who is good<sup>7</sup>—through that which

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 19 e.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 19 b.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XVII, 1 n; it is here written spēndmatō in Pahlavi.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 2 d.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 3 c.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 5 b.

has come to him—is every benefit which occurs to him who is good; all *for* his good every benefit is given to every *one* good by way of similarity in race, species, and nature, and every benefit is given in the way of complete giving which is possible for it.

7. This, too, that whoever shall justly inflict sentence and judgment, really according to the declaration regarding *one* acquitted or convicted<sup>1</sup>, becomes praiseworthy; even for this reason, because the origin of the judgment is the ritual of the ordeal. 8. And this, too, that by him who gives to him who is wise that which is needful for him, an immense<sup>2</sup> and strong foundation for learning is produced, and the knowledge in the world is augmented.

9. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

### CHAPTER LXIII.

#### *Bakō Nask.*

1. The seventeenth fargard, Yēzī<sup>3</sup>, is *that* whoever maintains the benedictions of the religion<sup>4</sup>, and shall uphold its commands, has thereby made even others learn it; even for this reason, because through this *it* is much more possible for him to attract others to the religion; *and, as to* the origin and means of attraction, the attraction is this, that he himself maintains the benedictions of the religion, and the means of attraction are this, that he is an upholder of the commands of the religion.

2. This, too, that by him who shall perform the ritual of an ordeal which is accomplished, the *Kin-*

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 6 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 6 c.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XVIII, 1 n.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1 d.

vad passage<sup>1</sup> is made known; even for this reason, because those even *who have* accomplished what is a work of the spirit become witnesses, one about the other, as to the facts. 3. This, too, that by him who shall perform that thing whereby a change occurs from evil to good<sup>2</sup>, even that change which is the renovation of *the universe* is made known, by means even of the evidence of a partial change as regards a perpetual change.

4. This, too, that by him who shall produce generosity for the tillers<sup>3</sup> of the world it is then developed; even for this reason, because they become more diligent *in* tilling the world. 5. This, too, that by him who shall produce benefit for the poor, a development<sup>4</sup> of the world is produced for them; even for this reason, because through that reason they increase more.

6. This, too, that the creature-forming (dāmīh) of Aūharmazd<sup>5</sup> is occasioned by him whose rule<sup>6</sup> is for Aūharmazd; even for this reason, because he becomes a holder and attendant of good works. 7. This, too, that the devastation by Vohūman<sup>7</sup> is taught by him whose rule is for Aūharmazd; even for this reason, because he smites sinners *and* destroys among villains.

8. This, too, that virtuous people are increased in a province<sup>8</sup> by him who appoints a virtuous governor of the province. 9. This, too, that virtuous instruction is provided *and* explained by him who loves Vohūman<sup>9</sup>. 10. And this, too, that vir-

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 2 b.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 a.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 5 d.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 6 c.      <sup>5</sup> Ibid. 7 d.      <sup>6</sup> Ibid. 8 a.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 9 c.      <sup>8</sup> Ibid. 12 a, and compare Chap. LXI, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 12 b.

tuous deeds<sup>1</sup> are set going by him who teaches learned sayings *and* virtuous deeds to him who is good; even for this reason, because the reception of the progressive supply of virtue by the learned becomes more complete.

11. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

## CHAPTER LXIV.

*Bakō Nask.*

1. The eighteenth fargard, *Ad-mâ-yavâ*<sup>2</sup>, is *that*, through his complete mindfulness<sup>3</sup>, the teaching of mankind in virtue is by him, and they become properly intelligent<sup>3</sup> through him, whose actions are those which are more daughterly, that is, as reverent unto *Aûharmazd* as a daughter unto a father; even for this reason, because his display of the complete mindfulness which is instinctive (*âsnîk*) is through action, *and* that action, acquired (*srûtîk*) for the thoughts of mankind, is kindled by him and *has* become properly intelligent. 2. This, too, that proper intelligence of things arises for *one* completely mindful<sup>3</sup>, even for a daughter to a father, through that complete mindfulness which is instinctive, whereby that lust is excluded which is most violently reverenced by the male (*kûsnö*), and, devoid of that, the reverence is assimilated (*ângunihîniâdö*) most strongly to one's reverence unto the creator.

3. This, too, that discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings through wisdom<sup>4</sup> is taught by him

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 12 c.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. XIX, 1 n; it is here written *ad-mâ-yûv* in Pahlavi.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 5 c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 6 b.

whose learning is in the affairs *of* the sacred beings ; even for this reason, because discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings is specially that which is advantageous *in* the end, and the advantageousness *in* the end is seen through learning ; *and*, apart from that, he who is learned in the affairs of the sacred beings has taught discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings through his wisdom<sup>1</sup>.

4. This, too, that the joyfulness in righteousness is taught to Frashôstar by him—that is, he would make him ardent in the performance of duty and good works<sup>2</sup>—who *has* thoroughly expounded Khûrdad and Amûrdad to Frashôstar<sup>3</sup>, that is, he maintains *him* as his high-priest. 5. This, too, that he who shall perform good works ever afresh, has taught him to become ardent in duty and good works<sup>2</sup>. 6. This, too, that Aûharmazd supplies guardianship<sup>4</sup> to him who gives pleasure to Aûharmazd ; even for this reason, because a giver of pleasure to Aûharmazd is any one *who is* a true servant of Aûharmazd, and Aûharmazd becomes the guardian of a true servant.

7. This, too, that they ever amount to a master of all commands<sup>5</sup> for him who is a benefit *and* sovereignty for that which arises ; even owing to this reason, because, in establishing *and* arranging that which is an absurd (*âskûn*) or a virtuous law, the command issued, which is another *and* further observation of the advantage of the creatures, prepares

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that *ar'gô*, ‘value,’ stands for *khiraðô*, which is very similarly written in Pahlavi letters.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 8 a.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. XIX, 1, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 8 b.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 8 d.

that which is ever an attainable benefit among the creatures, by means of which, even after symptoms of the life of one's body, it is governed through setting going the usage of that law, and is connected with his mastery of command and his sovereignty.

8. This, too, that Vohūman's *having* guarded the creature-forming (dāmīh) of Aūharmazd<sup>1</sup> is taught by him whose rule is for Aūharmazd; on this account, because he whose rule is for Aūharmazd has taught the inclination for (padisāī) *being* guarded, on this account, because the inclination of the creatures of that ruler for *being* guarded by the power of goodness, *and* the creatures being guarded by the power of goodness have published the power of goodness, which is Vohūman, to the multitude.

9. Here is about the reply to Zarātūst concerning the wicked, thus: 'Upon arrival in the fiend's abode<sup>2</sup>, through an immature (khām) death, they are unprivileged, so that every misery is theirs, and it is not possible for them to seek a remedy.'

10. This, too, that the spirit of reverence comes through invocation to the assistance<sup>3</sup> of him who is reverent unto the benefitors; even for this reason, because the spirits respond more particularly to that invoker who becomes their worshipper preponderantly (vāspūharakānīhā); and for each one of the spirits there is preponderantly a *form of worship*, as the spirit of liberality is more particularly worshipped through helpfulness (vigidār-dahisnih), the spirit of truth through exact truth (hū-rāstih), the spirit of a promise through true promising (hū-mitrōih),

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 10 a, b, and Chap. LXIII, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 11 d.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 12 a.

and the spirit of sovereignty through good sovereignty; and, even so, the worship of the spirit of reverence consists preponderantly in reverence unto the benefitors. 11. This, too, that he whose rule is for Aûharmazd becomes a suppliant *for* that which is coveted (*istö*) *from* Aûharmazd<sup>1</sup>; even for this reason, because *what* is wisely begged from the sacred beings *and* rulers, for rendering one's own self worthy, occurs as a benefit owing to the sacred beings *and* rulers.

12. About the reply of Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, when asked by him about his own, *his* confederate<sup>2</sup>, and *his* serf, thus: 'He is thine own, he *thy* confederate, and he *thy* serf, even when *and* where *he is* a righteous offspring who produces the progress of this *thy* religion of Mazda-worship, *and* recites it openly even unto *him* he knows, who provides the public benedictions, this good practice of thine, that is, he maintains *what is* provided *by* thee as benedictions<sup>3</sup>'.

13. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

## CHAPTER LXV.

### *Bakō Nask.*

1. The nineteenth fargard, Kad-môî-urvâ<sup>4</sup>, is *that* the sheep-nature (pâhîh)<sup>5</sup> is taught to him *who*

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 12 d.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 7 c.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 7 d.

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. XX, 1 n; it is here written kad-môk-ravô in Pahlavi.

<sup>5</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 1 b. The distinction made in the Pahlavi text, here and in § 3, by using the scriptural term pâh and the general word gôspend for the sheep, might perhaps be imitated in English by using the word 'flock' for pâh, but this would not express the meaning exactly.

is a sheep (*gōspēnd*), even for this reason, because the sheep is still among sheep (*pāh-ič dēn*). 2. This, too, that by him who provides pasture for sheep, mankind are nourished (*srāyinīdō*)<sup>1</sup> through the sheep; even for this reason, because the nourishment of mankind is through the sheep, and *that* of the sheep through pasture. 3. This, too, that the sheep of the present *worldly* state is expounded to him who is a sheep (*pāh*) to Zaratūst, that is, he has Zaratūst as a high-priest; even for this reason, because still a sheep (*pāh-ič*) is a sheep.

4. This, too, that strength in virtue is increased and taught by him who produces joyfulness<sup>2</sup> through seeking gradual development, so that he would do that thing which gives him joyfulness, that is, he would do that thing which becomes his long-continued joy; even for this reason, because increase of strength arises more particularly from pleasure, the pleasure that *one is* gradually attaining (*dēr-pādāi*). 5. This, too, that by him who shall provide the ceremonial of the sacred beings, the joyfulness<sup>2</sup> owing to the sacred beings is then connected with his own; even for this reason, because the coming of the sacred beings to it occurs.

6. This, too, that the wisdom<sup>3</sup> of Zaratūst is taught and displayed by him who gives thought to the religion of Zaratūst. 7. This, too, that the tongue<sup>3</sup> is instructed (*farhāngīnīdō*) in speech by him who becomes discriminating through wisdom. 8. And this, too, that preparation<sup>4</sup> is taught to them who are benefitors of Zaratūst, or who are *so* of the religion; even for this reason, because, owing to

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 1 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 5 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 6 c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 6 d.

that action, disposition, and attraction which are now theirs, they prepare mankind for the religion of Zarātūst. 9. This, too, that whoever teaches the virtuous way to others, they become his through the knowledge of being instructed; even for this reason, because through the enlightenment of that way, they see and act, and are thereby instructed.

10. This, too, that the obeisance<sup>1</sup> for the archangels is performed by him who is a praiser of the archangels. 11. This, too, that assistance is taken<sup>2</sup> from the sacred beings by him who gives to him who is a suppliant that which is dear to him, because he himself is made worthy by his assistance, and, when made worthy by it, it is then taken by him; and the suppliant is he who is not a suppliant through his mouth, but through worthiness, and what is dear is that which is good about him.

12. This, too, that *its being* within the day till dawn (*val aûsh*)<sup>3</sup> is taught by him—that is, he would make *it* as a signal (*dakhshakö*)<sup>3</sup>—who is in obeisance, so that he *may* not neglect till another day the duty and good works which it is requisite for him to perform within the day; even for this reason, because to cause the preservation of the dawn from debased incompatibility (*hêr hanbêshîh*) of duties, it is made exalted by him over the duties. 13. This, too, that complete mindfulness is taught among the existences<sup>4</sup> by him whose thought among the existences is that he shall perform that thing which is possible to remain good in the world, such as the provision of good sovereignty, orthodoxy, the

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 7 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 10 c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 7 d.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 11 c.

law of virtuous usage, *and* others, through which the dwelling, preparation, and living of mankind in the world arise, *and* the appropriation of any complete mindfulness of that performer is the exaltation which is his owing to that great performance.

14. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

## CHAPTER LXVI.

### *Bakō Nask.*

1. In the twentieth fargard, Vohū-khshathrem<sup>1</sup>, it is also stated by Aūharmazd to Zarātūst the Spītāmān thus: ‘They who are now in sovereignty are privileged, the human being who is a wicked lying tyrant *being* not now in sovereignty; moreover, thou shouldst cause *some one* to thoroughly smite (*barā vānīn-aē*) him who is causing deception in the embodied world by lamentation (*sīvan*), and they cause the preservation of death, ruin, and falsehood because they would cause the preservation of his effects (*mamanas var ae bōgīnēnd*).’ 2. And this, too, namely: ‘When the sovereignty should be given by them unto him who is good<sup>2</sup>, *they* would be preserved through that sovereignty of his; moreover, thou shouldst cause *some one* to thoroughly smite him who is made deceitful by lamentation, and *so also* death, ruin, and falsehood.’

3. This, too, that by him who shall provide complete mindfulness<sup>3</sup> for his own, righteousness is produced; even for this reason, because, through

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XXI, 1 n; it is here written vōhū-khshatar in Pahlavi.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 2 b.

complete mindfulness, the discerning eye of life, which is righteousness, is enlightened. 4. This, too, that the coveted *thing* (*istō*) which it is expedient for sovereignty to give away<sup>1</sup> is taught by him who shall provide sovereignty for him who is all-progressive (*hamāk-rūbisnō*); even for this reason, because the observation, consideration, and action of him who is an all-progressive ruler are about that which is coveted *by* the multitude and is an advantage for the sovereignty which it is expedient to produce.

5. This, too, that *what is* produced by the words of Vohūman<sup>2</sup> is taught by him who shall perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings with the thoughts of Vohūman; even for this reason, because, the mind *being* with the thoughts of Vohūman, the tongues of the faithful are habituated (*khūkinidakō*) in the statements of Vohūman. 6. This, too, that innocence from discontinued (*amānd*) good works is taught by him who remains in virtue; even for this reason, because *they are* atoned for by him even among important good works.

7. This, too, that the original causer of goodness is assisted in causing goodness by him whose fundamental gift (*būn dahisnō*) among the existences is that he supplies that which it is requisite for him to give; even for this reason, because *in* a work, upon which *one* remains with a thousand men, when one *man* is bringing his own strength to the labour therein, the 999 *other* men are assisted by him in that work.

8. This, too, that the way of righteousness<sup>3</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 2 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 3 b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 13 c.

not concealed, *but taught*, by him who is a good considerer as to righteousness; even for this reason, because the sap and root of his righteousness are owing to undiverted thought. 9. This, too, that its *being* unnecessary to provide repletion for those who are cattle<sup>1</sup> is taught by him who keeps cattle as a controller *for* benefitors; even for this reason, because they teach and command him.

10. This, too, that housewifery<sup>2</sup> *being* performed is taught by that wife who shall joyfully pay reverence *to her* husband; even for this reason, because her housewifery is for the satisfaction of the husband, the satisfaction is through her reverence, and the reverence arises through joy. 11. This, too, that to love the religion through knowledge<sup>3</sup> is taught by him who is peaceful (*padmânîk*) *and* Vohûmanic *to* it; even for this reason, because Vohûmanic peacefulness is understood *as* religion. 12. And this, too, that the gratification of Aûharmazd<sup>4</sup> is caused by him who teaches for Aûharmazd.

13. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

## CHAPTER LXVII.

### *Bakô Nask.*

1. In the twenty-first fargard, Vahistâisti<sup>5</sup>, it is proclaimed by the righteous Zaratûst, that the ceremonial is performed by him owing to whom our

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 14 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 17 c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 18 b.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 20 c.

<sup>5</sup> See Chap. XXII, 1 n.

worship is good thinking. 2. This, too, that Vohûman and the liturgy are lodging in the body of him in whose body the religion is lodging; *and so is* the spirit of goodness, which is peace (*padmân*). 3. This, too, that the good religion is taught in word and deed by him who shall achieve the giving of thought (*mînîsn-dahîh*) *to* Vohûman *in* the ceremonial. 4. This, too, that the archangels become lodging in the body of him who loves Vohûman; even for this reason, because their lodging is in light, purity, and perfume, and the body is illuminated, purified, and perfumed by Vohûman.

5. This, too, that mankind are made diligent in the performance of good works by him who shall provide gifts for the doers of good works. 6. This, too, that by him who loves the beneficial way<sup>1</sup>, even others are put *in* the same way *and* taught. 7. This, too, that he gives his daughter in daughterhood to *his* fatherhood<sup>2</sup>, who teaches to the daughter reverence towards *her* father; even for this reason, because she is made steadfast in daughterhood by him. 8. This, too, that the authority of Vohûman is taught by him who keeps the talent which is his for virtue; even for this reason, because from the authority of goodness arise the advantage *and* freedom from strife of the sciences (*hûnarânô*).

9. This, too, that a daughter is given to a father for womanly service (*nêsmânih*<sup>2</sup>), *and* so also a wife to another man, by him who teaches reverence, towards father and husband, to the daughter and the other woman; and so, too, *by him* who instructs

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. LII, 2 d.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 a. In § 9 (as in Chap. XLV, 4) there appears to be no confinement of the meaning to matrimony.

the wife of a man in housewifery; because the advantageous womanly service of a woman *for* a man arises through reverence towards *her* husband and good training in housewifery. 10. This, too, that even the reverence *of* a wife towards a husband is produced by him *who* gives a woman unto a man; because the giver of possession (*khûdîh*) becomes praiseworthy even by the act of *having given* that possession.

11. This, too, that origin and effect (*bûn va-bar*) are produced for Aûharmazd by him who gives *what* is necessary unto Aûharmazd and teaches perpetual preservation; *what* is properly necessary *being* the origin of the preservation *which is* the effect of *what* is properly necessary. 12. This, too, that dominion is acquired for the house of him who keeps the door of the house an opening for the wise; the house *being* the body, *and* the door of the house *being* the ear, eye, and mouth.

13. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that is* perfect.

## CHAPTER LXVIII.

### *Bakô Nask.*

1. The beginning of the twenty-second fargard, the Airyaman<sup>1</sup>, is the last question (*frasnô*) beyond the five Gâthas; it is taught for the dominion of Aûharmazd only by him—that is, it is making him ruler of himself—who shall do that which is declared by the passage:—Yâ erezegyôi dâhî

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XXIII, 1 n; it is here written aîremanô in Pahlavi.

drigaovē vahyō<sup>1</sup>: who gives delights (vâyagânō) to him who is a right-living poor *man*<sup>2</sup>—preservation from the destroyer, *and* the consummation of every happiness.

2. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

### CHAPTER LXIX.

1. About a selection from the whole Yast<sup>3</sup> referring to the developer (vakhshtîndâr-hômônd).

2. Those are beneficial who increase for the developer, that is, they shall occasion benefit (nê-vakîh) for him who would occasion that benefit which is for others<sup>4</sup>. 3. Thus the righteous *man* who produces perfect thought is *he* who comes upon it through Vohûman<sup>5</sup>, *and* the benefit of him who is an open annoyer<sup>6</sup>—the righteous man who is a smiter of the wicked, *and* who develops as to what is Aûharmazd's and as to what is Zaratûst's—is that he slays in moderation.

4. Regarding him who is an oppressive man who is righteous, the reply spoken is *thus*: ‘The reward of the smiter and developer—that man of whom *one*

<sup>1</sup> See Yas. LIII, 9 d.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. LII, 9 d, and Chaps. XLV, 10, XLVII, 17.

<sup>3</sup> The twenty-first Nask, or original Yasna (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XLVI, 1). It is not very clear, from this chapter and from what is stated about it in Chap. I, 2, whether this selection was compiled by the author of the Dinkard, or by some earlier writer. So far as its statements have yet been traced, nearly all of them originate in the Gâthas, or in the Yasna Haptanghâiti; but § 45 quotes a passage from the Bakô Nask (Yas. XIX).

<sup>4</sup> Compare Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 2 a, where J<sub>2</sub>, Pt<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>4</sub> have barâ yehamtûnânê pavan Vohûman.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Pahl. Yas. XLII, 8 b.

knows the smiting and developing—is the very evil reward *of* him who is wicked ; just as his smiting, as an evil reward for him from those two spirits, is that very evil practice loved by him who is wicked ; even for this reason every righteous individual is Gâthic<sup>1</sup>, because, when privileged (pâdôkhshâî), he who is wicked is thus he *who* is righteous, *and* also he who is privileged is unprivileged<sup>2</sup>.

5. Zaratûst proceeded with the smiting at the wicked, *and* as to that proceeding Aûharmazd spoke thus : ‘Thou shouldest thus proceed with smiting at the wicked by ordinance (dâdistân), because thus they have thee and the righteous of every kind as ruler. 6. Also through my decree (pavan-iķ man vigîr) *one* produces the ritual of ordeal, which realizes that which is real, so that *one* may make that which is dark fully light. 7. Thine, too, is so much the sovereignty of Aûharmazd, thus through worship, that its requisite (khvâstakō) privilege is thus maintained through virtue, because thou, who *art* thus, *art* more unconfined (anâkôsîdar) to the world through the furtherance *and* development of righteousness ; great, indeed, is he who trusts the righteous *man* for righteousness, and great is he who *trusts* the wicked *man* for wickedness.’

8. As to that utterance (farmâyisnō) Zaratûst spoke thus : ‘An open annoyer is the righteous man—the benefiter disclosed *by* Aûharmazd—that loves the embodied world of righteousness, and demands its reverence (tarsakâyîh) for the proportion of righteousness therein, that is, he knows the proportion of duty and good works.’ 9. Re-

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 5 n.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. LXI, 11.

garding the worldly *existence*, the reply spoken is thus: 'That which is again contaminated (*gūmīkht-ēd*) by the demons becomes abundant so long as that which is proper is again contaminated with the demons; and, so long as *there is* a developer, they subsist for their own substances, so that *it* is possible for them to seek benefit for their own, and they are smiters of the righteous.'

10. Regarding him who is a wise smiter, Sôshâns<sup>1</sup> spoke *in* reply thus: 'It arises through his way when it is again contaminated.'

11. As to that mischief (*drûgisnō*) Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Happy is he from whom there is no mischief.' 12. Regarding<sup>2</sup> him who has come, the Yim of splendour<sup>3</sup>, he spoke thus: 'He attains his reward who is no smiter and no developer, not privileged and not unprivileged.'

13. As to that disclosure (*hâkisnō*) Vohûman<sup>4</sup> spoke thus: 'I aggrandize that spiritual lord and that priestly master who is my righteousness in person.'

14. As to that utterance Spendarmad<sup>4</sup> spoke thus: 'So do thou perfect (*barâ vadidûn*) him whose information subsists—a man that becomes wise—who is as an emblem of my religion; because he *has* worshipped that which is ours, so that he has retained property in our possession, through whose words *there* is a furtherance of the world of righteousness. 15. That is my arrangement, and that my wish—that is, what is necessary for me—and I

<sup>1</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming that *lâ*, 'not,' stands for *rât*.

<sup>3</sup> Av. Yimô khshaêtô (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 6, 7).

<sup>4</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

love that which thou fully understandest, that is, that arrangement which is righteousness; also whatever discourse and perfect performance, thou askest of us, *O Zarātūst!* in complete mindfulness, I now practise by the work of each hand; observe thoroughly that which I *am* performing, *and* thou, too, *art* accomplishing. 16. In worship thou, *O Zarātūst!* art liberal, who art liberal in ceremonial; *for* thee, whose body believes, controversy is not lavish (*rād*) for the sake of the wealth bestowed; the reward of Zarātūst the developer is for developing, the reward of Zarātūst the smiter is for smiting, *and* the reward of Zarātūst the smiter and developer is for smiting and developing. 17. At the bridge *judgment* of him whose name the fire calls for participation, as when they repeatedly pour the melted ore upon him in the throat, thou shouldst pray near him alive—him whose love is for virtue—so that he may perform duty and good works with fearlessness; with his desire, too, it is expedient to know that *it is* done by him on account of necessity.'

18. As to that utterance Aūharmazd spoke thus: 'Such is the upward attraction (*lālā-hangisnīh*) of Shatraver<sup>1</sup> for him who is ours.' 19. As to that question (*frashnō*) Aūharmazd spoke thus: 'Such has happened to him who is ours through Vohūman; he ought to come to our religion through virtue. 20. Truly he, *O Zarātūst!* is privileged for the sovereignty, who confines *his* ears *to* this religion, that he may make *it* fully progressive; who is given immortality through this, and kind regard *for* the will *of* him *who* is the best of that religion of mine,

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<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XLIII, 1. It is here written Shatrōver.

*O Zaratûst! and who assists the furtherance of this world of mine in righteousness.'*

21. As to those of that *other one*<sup>1</sup> Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'As regards that which is great evidence, when wicked they consider *it* as unattested for him who is wicked himself; and the thoughts<sup>2</sup> of him, whose deeds are those of that *other one*, are due to Akômanô<sup>3</sup>. 22. Owing also to this, when both Khûrdad<sup>4</sup> and Amûrdad<sup>4</sup> are given to thee, *it is* in that way—when thou art of the propitious spirit and the best thought—that what thou understandest thou shouldst be accomplishing, and what thou dost not understand thou askest again.'

23. Of him whose wisdom exists (*aîtö*)—of Aûharmazd—he whose wisdom arises (*yehevûnêd*)—Zaratûst—enquired concerning him who is unreal (*an-aîtö*) and who does not subsist (*yehevûnêd*) hereafter, who has thus never become a material existence for those on the side of virtue, and does not subsist for them henceforth.

24. As to that reverse description (*padîrakö-nisânisnîh*) Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Among men of every kind say unto the righteous who are smiting the wicked, *that* we improve the measure of any milk they propitiate, even by the holy-water which is the sustenance (*barisnö*) of milk, *in order* to cause much happiness of life.'

25. As to that utterance Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Happy is he from whom there is no complaint, and a life which is like this the text Gerezdi...'

<sup>1</sup> The followers of Aharman.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming that *mânisnö*, 'dwelling,' stands for *mînisnö*.

<sup>3</sup> See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.      <sup>4</sup> See Chap. XIX, 1.

âkhsô . . .<sup>1</sup> implores. 26. To thee, *O Zaratûst!* my protection is given *in* the reply of the *Kem-nâ*<sup>2</sup> which, before the companionship of *Kai-Vistâsp*<sup>3</sup>—that righteous friend of mine<sup>4</sup>—*was* a published thing of those which are used, *and* of those such as it is requisite to use. 27. The talk of a man which is immoderate is false, everything immoderate is *so* for this reason, everything is not that which the good man possesses, because, when privileged, the wicked *one* is he who is righteous, and he who is privileged becomes unprivileged; he who is righteous is thus he who is wicked, and becomes him who is privileged and unprivileged, so that he is fully incriminated, and they shall carry off his possessions.'

<sup>1</sup> Yas. XLVI, 2 c-e; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. XLV, 2 c-e) may be translated as follows:—‘I complain to thee, behold it and this *one*, *O Aûharmazd!* (that is, seek a remedy for me); *that* pleasure is my desire, which a friend gives to his friend; through the instruction of Vohûman (when I am instructed in virtue) is the coveted *thing* of righteousness (thou shouldst give me).’ The words in parentheses have no equivalents in the Avesta text.

<sup>2</sup> Yas. XLVI, 7; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. XLV, 7 a-e) may be translated as follows:—‘Who is given to me (and mine, my disciples) *as* protector by thee, *O Aûharmazd!* when that wicked (Aharman) retains malice *for* me in possession (that is, maintains malice with me? Who shall provide me protection), other than thy fire and Vohûman? (Because I know that they would provide me protection for your sake) when I nourish righteousness through deeds *for* them, *O Aûharmazd!* (that is, should I perform duty and good works, who shall provide me protection?) Thou shouldst proclaim to me that high-priest of the religion; (this thou shouldst state thus: “Maintain the religion as high-priest”).’

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 13 e, and Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Ibid. 14 a which is given in Pt4, Mf4, as follows:—*Zaratûstô mûn lak aharûbô dôstiô.*

28. Regarding the benefitors the reply spoken is thus: 'They are owing to the reward of the smiter and developer; those are beneficial whose smiting and developing are those of the developer Aûharmazd, who understands smiting and development.'

29. When through smiting by Aûharmazd, on account of the wicked, a question (frashnô) about it arose, the reply spoken, as to the smiting of the present *world* by means of him who is ruler, was: 'The reward which the judgment that is perfect teaches is thus, that he who is the smiter and developer, Sôshâns<sup>1</sup>, shall make the decision.' 30. Zaratûst spoke *in* reply thus: 'He gives a reward.' 31. And that wise smiter, Sôshâns, spoke *in* reply thus: 'He shall inflict punishment.'

32. Even he who is an ox of many cattle has openly *and* publicly wailed this complaint<sup>2</sup> on account of the righteous *one*: 'How long is it till the time when a developer arises, even he who is an irresolute ruler (akâmakô khûdâî)? How long is the time till he arises, until the wicked *one* who is a smiter *and* privileged corrupter is he *who is unprivileged?*' 33. Because, for the sake of producing resolution (kâmak-dahîh), he complains that, until the developer shall arise, even he who is irresolute is ruler, that is, until he who is the developer shall become privileged.

34. As to that complaint of his Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Not so *as by* this complaint is the obtainment of spiritual lordship (ahûikîh), for this reason, when they do not consider the ruler as a ruler, and *there is no giving of priestly authority* (radôth) by any

<sup>1</sup> See § 10.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1, 9.

righteousness whatever<sup>1</sup>, it is requisite, on account of the many righteous, to speak henceforth, until *the time* when the developer arises, even *of* him who is an irresolute ruler.'

35. On account of the many statements of the spirits, even as to thought, word, *and* deed, it is requisite to say that they shall always render an account until even some obtainment *of* a smiter and developer, privileged *or* unprivileged. 36. Some arise *of* whom it is requisite to ask this question (*frashnō*)<sup>2</sup> while he who is righteous *and* he who is wicked are two witnesses, *and* they make the righteous *one* manifest by his evidence, *or* they molest him who is righteous by smiting. 37. Some arise when it is requisite to speak this reply<sup>3</sup> during the smiting *of* the maintainer of strife and *of* the kinsman. 38. *And* some arise while that individual<sup>4</sup> is loved, though a righteous *one* *and* a developer arise, *and* it is requisite to produce a provider of benefit on account of the many, both wicked and righteous, so long as a wicked *one* of the smiting which is maintaining strife is privileged.

39. Because, regarding the production of resolution, *it is* proclaimed that *it is* so that they shall fully understand that Aūharmazd discriminates truly, *and* Aharman does not discriminate truly. 40. And that *it is* so that they shall fully understand that the punishment of the wicked is for teaching *them* that they *will* attain to the existence of darkness, that even *to* him who belongs to the ever-stationary they *may* give his reward, that they are for smiting the wicked *one*, that they are very powerful to give, that

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 6 b.

<sup>2</sup> That in § 32.

<sup>3</sup> That in § 34.

<sup>4</sup> The irresolute ruler.

they *should* kill the apostate, that *one has to be converted* from vileness to goodness, that he who would be wicked is made to believe by the tongue, that for the sake of proper nurture of the creatures next-of-kin marriage is provided, that the demons are despised, that thus he who is evil-ruling is wicked, and that they are approaching *the place where Aûharmazd shall provide for the account of sin and good works.*

41. They shall become more diligent in the performance of duty and good works, and abstain more from sin, always until *one attains even to some acquirement for those in life and those in a lifeless state*<sup>1</sup>. 42. And they shall not inflict their punishment completely in the embodied state, and the fiend does not pity the worldly *existence*; every individual is counted up, and every one is fully completed for the affairs of Aûharmazd, *but* the fiend is not smitten, and they shall not fully inflict the punishment.

43. No one thinks thou shouldst remain for the propitious Aûharmazd, and no one completely presents *himself*; they attack through the fiend, and arise for the foolish *one*. 44. No one arises for the goodness of him who is good, *but* for the vileness of the fiend they destroy *what is good*, and do not understand evil *and* good; they recite the revelation for a wicked *one*, they do not bestow friendship for labour, *but* are for the evil-doer.

45. And the righteous *one*, who is the best of spiritual *and* worldly *existences*, becomes a privileged

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<sup>1</sup> By accumulating more good works than are necessary to balance one's own sins.

developer, even he who is an irresolute ruler<sup>1</sup>; and so he who is wicked, even he who is privileged, becomes unprivileged, at that time when *one* gives the soul of every one unto the supreme heaven<sup>2</sup>, and when thou shouldst, every one, know that the affliction of the annoyers arises<sup>3</sup>, so that when, owing thereto, they beseech the sacred beings, *it is* only hell that they supply.

46. When every one shall provide the ceremonial of the archangels unworriedly, and when every one knows that Gôs-aûrvan complained<sup>4</sup>—so that he who is the fashioner of cattle enquired thus: ‘Whose is the guardianship of cattle<sup>5</sup>?’ and ‘Not without annoyance’ was the reply of Ashavahist, ‘that is, they shall inflict his punishment<sup>6</sup>’—every one also knows that in their light is joyfulness for the sight<sup>7</sup>.

47. When every individual (*ko/lâ ais-1*) becomes aware of the priestly authority of Aûharmazd; and when every individual knows that his remedy for the devastation owing to the evil spirit is comprehensibly stated<sup>8</sup>; when every individual knows that Aûharmazd fashioned the propitiousness in the liturgy<sup>9</sup>; and when every one knows that the priest is perfect, that Aûharmazd enhances both of them in spirituality<sup>10</sup>, that Vohûman is the offspring of Aûharmazd<sup>11</sup>, that Spendarmad is Aûharmazd’s own<sup>12</sup>, that all three of them are the life of him who

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 58, XX, 10..

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 4 a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 6 c.

<sup>4</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1 a, and Chap. XV, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 2 a.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 3 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14.

<sup>7</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 1 c.

<sup>8</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 6 a.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 7 a.

<sup>10</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 7 c.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 8 a.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 9 a.

*has* wandered forth<sup>1</sup>—that is, life is given by the thought and wisdom<sup>2</sup> which are his own—and that the sacred beings are they who are supporting *it*.

48. When every one of this existence must act for the sake of that *other* existence, *and* knows *how* to act; when every one is a friend, through deeds, of the spirit which is his own<sup>3</sup>; and when every one becomes a person supporting Aûharmazd<sup>4</sup>. 49. When every individual knows that they give no reward to him in whose body a demon is lodging who is not listening<sup>5</sup>; when every one shall make his own soul immortal<sup>6</sup>; and when every one has advantage through possession of Aûharmazd<sup>7</sup>.

50. When every one becomes a Zâti unsullied in righteousness<sup>8</sup>; when every one gives a sacred cake to the archangels<sup>9</sup>; when every one knows that co-operation is due to him who is their servant; and when they are together *in* soul<sup>10</sup>. 51. When every individual gives *his* body<sup>11</sup>; when every one proceeds to their ceremonial and glorification<sup>12</sup>; when every individual knows that ‘other than they’ is *meant by naêkim tem anyem*<sup>13</sup>; and when every one knows

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 10 a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 11 b, c.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 21 c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 22 c.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 4 a, XLIII, 13 c.

<sup>6</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 1 a.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 3 a.

<sup>8</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 6 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 8 c.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 9 c.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 10 c.

<sup>12</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 6 c.

<sup>13</sup> Yas. XXXIV, 7 c, the Pahlavi version of which may be translated as follows:—‘I am aware of no one (above), other than you (that is, I know no one from whom my benefit is such as from you, and when they shall cause) righteousness (that is, they shall perform duty and good works, it) thus produces shelter for us.’ The MS. has naêkîd.

that, through that sovereignty of his, the renovation of the universe is produced by *his* will among the existences<sup>1</sup>.

52. When every one knows the elucidation (*rôshanô*) of the religion; when every one considers the religion as governor and serf<sup>2</sup>; when every one knows that the manifestation of this ought to arise in him; when every one thinks Aûharmazd auspicious<sup>3</sup>; and when every one knows that, when it occurs, benefit is produced, through resolute sovereignty<sup>4</sup>, where and when it gives him a reward for the performance of the duty and good works they should call for. 53. When every one gives<sup>5</sup> the sacred beings *and* the good a sheep; when every one knows that, for him whose righteousness is in action, immense *and* complete mindfulness arises<sup>6</sup>; when every one thinks of much assistance from Aûharmazd<sup>7</sup>; when every one speaks to restore *his* temper<sup>8</sup>; when every one speaks to provide the ceremonial<sup>9</sup>; and when every one produces that advantage by liberal giving<sup>10</sup>. 54. When every one knows that *one* grants him the obeisance which is due to him when in a condition for the supreme heaven (*amat dêngarôdmânîkîh*)<sup>11</sup>; when every one knows that *it* is done by those in the realm of Aûharmazd<sup>12</sup>; and when every individual knows

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 15 c.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 22.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 7 a.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 8 d.

<sup>5</sup> Assuming that *yehevûnêd*, 'becomes,' stands for *yehabûnêd*.

<sup>6</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 6 c.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 7 d.

<sup>8</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 3 a.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 6 a.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 7 a. <sup>11</sup> Ibid. 8 e.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 9 c.

that, so long as the religion of the first creation<sup>1</sup> shall exist (ae), this characteristic is to be considered thus: Hvô zî dregvâu, &c.<sup>2</sup>

55. When every individual keeps no wealth for a high-priest of the apostates<sup>3</sup>; when every one knows that, when above, *there* is righteousness<sup>4</sup>; when they shall make intercession<sup>5</sup> *for* every individual, and when every individual becomes aware<sup>6</sup> *of it*; when every individual sees that he is a father of righteousness<sup>7</sup>; and when every individual knows that the propitious spirit is in him<sup>8</sup>. 56. When every one knows that, when a supplicant, he is more a smiter of the wicked<sup>9</sup>; when every individual utters the salutation (nîyâyisnô) of Aûharmazd<sup>10</sup>; when every individual knows that that is our comfort<sup>11</sup>, *and* that it is Aûharmazd's own creature<sup>12</sup>; and when every individual is taught<sup>13</sup>, *and* every individual joins in the perfect religion<sup>14</sup>.

57. When every individual knows that Vohûman

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 6 e.

<sup>2</sup> Yas. XLVI, 6 c-e; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. XLV, 6 c-e) may be translated as follows:—‘For he is wicked whose best nature is for the wicked, and he is righteous whose homage (franâmisnô in Pt4, Mf4) is for the righteous (in any doubtfulness, whoever gives anything to the wicked is to be considered as wicked, and whoever gives to the righteous is to be considered as righteous) so long as the religion of the first creation, O Aûharmazd! (until the time when Sôshâns arrives *one* is ever to be considered in this way).’

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 8 a. The MS. has ‘the righteous’ by mistake.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 12 a.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 6 a.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Pahl. Yas. XLV, 17 e.

<sup>7</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 d.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 3 a.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 4 d.

<sup>10</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1 d.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 6 a.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 7 d.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 12 c.

<sup>14</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 9 c.

guards the creatures<sup>1</sup>; when every individual becomes privileged by will<sup>2</sup> for the reward; when every individual knows that gain is through giving away<sup>3</sup>; when every individual transacts, or shall transact, the affairs of the archangels<sup>4</sup>; and when every individual knows that when he who is intelligent speaks to him<sup>5</sup>, it becomes a possession for the benefit of righteousness<sup>6</sup>.

58. When, for equal meritoriousness, it is necessary to give sooner to Magian men<sup>7</sup>—so that on account even of the Magianship of Kāt-Vistāsp *he was* suitable for the sovereignty<sup>8</sup>, that Zaratūst *was* given a wife by Frashōstar<sup>9</sup>, that *it was* the learned Gāmāsp<sup>10</sup> that Aūharmazd gave—and that every individual shall provide the ceremonial of Aūharmazd<sup>11</sup>. 59. And when every individual knows that *they are* the best prayers which are the words of Zaratūst<sup>12</sup>, and, even so, his is a wise reward for those which are yours<sup>13</sup>.

60. It is perfect *is* the excellence of righteousness; it is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

<sup>1</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 10 a, b.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 9 c.

<sup>3</sup> See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 b. The MS. has bûn, instead of barâ, by mistake.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 3 c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 8 a.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 8 b.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 15 a.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 16 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 17 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 18 a.      <sup>11</sup> Ibid. 20 c.      <sup>12</sup> See Pahl. Yas. LII, 1 a.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 7 a.



# DETAILS OF THE NASKS

FROM

OTHER SOURCES.

## OBSERVATIONS.

- 1-5. (The same as on page 2.)
6. The manuscripts mentioned are:—
- B (written A.D. 1659), see page 2.
- B<sub>29</sub> (written A.D. 1679), a Persian Rivâyat, No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay.
- DH (written A.D. 1813), a Dîn-vîgîrgard in the library of Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji at Poona.
- K<sub>35</sub> (probably written A.D. 1572), a Dâdistân-î Dînk, No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.
- Mf<sub>4</sub>, Pt<sub>4</sub> (written about A.D. 1780), in the Mullâ Fîrûz Library and in that of Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji in Bombay, respectively, both copied from a Yasna with Pahlavi, written in Irân and brought to India about A.D. 1478, which was a descendant of an ancestor of J<sub>2</sub> and K<sub>5</sub>, and independent of those two authorities.
- MH<sub>10</sub> (about 150 years old), a Persian Rivâyat, No. 10 of Haug's Collection in the State Library at Munich.
- O<sub>225</sub>, a Persian Rivâyat in No. 225 of Ouseley's Collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

FROM THE SELECTIONS  
OF  
ZĀD-S PARAM<sup>1</sup>.

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1. About the three divisions of revelation there is a condensed medium, beneficial *and* small, of whose subdivision one category (*ragistakō*) is collection together; that is, the Ahunavair<sup>2</sup> itself is a symbol of the Nasks.

2. First, the Ahunavair is apportioned into its three degrees (*padmān*), as shown in another chapter; *and* by a like system (*ragistak*) the Gâthas<sup>3</sup>, too, are into three, which are the three-lined, four-lined, and five-lined<sup>4</sup>; even so the Nasks

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<sup>1</sup> Who was high-priest of Sîrkân, in the south of Persia, towards the end of the ninth century, being contemporary with the last reviser of the Dînkard (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. xxvii). This extract from his Selections constitutes the ‘particulars about the Gâthas and the connection of the Ahunavair with the Nasks,’ mentioned in the final footnote to Zs. XI, 10. For the Pahlavi text the translator is dependent upon a single MS., copied from K35 when this latter MS. was complete, and said to be now in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay.

<sup>2</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

<sup>3</sup> The word *gâsânō* is usually written like *dahisnō* in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> The three-lined stanzas of the Gâthas are 100 in the Ahunavaiti (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), 40 in the Yasna of seven hâs (Yas. XXXV–XLI), and 22 in the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. LI), altogether 162 three-lined stanzas; the four-lined are one in the Ustavaiti (Yas. XLVI, 15), 41 in the Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVII–L), and nine in the Vahistôsti (Yas. LIII), altogether 51 four-lined stanzas;

are denominated Gâthic, Hadha-mâthric, and Law.

3. Then the Ahunavair is apportioned into six which they call half-lines (*nêm-gâs*) ; so, too, the Gâthas are into six, which are called the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, the Yasna, the Ustavaiti<sup>1</sup> Gâtha, the Spentâ-mainyû (*Spetamatö*) Gâtha, the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha, and the Vahistôisti Gâtha; even so the Nasks are into six, as the Gâthas are into two, which are called one the Gâthic creation—which is the Yast<sup>2</sup>—and one the rest of the Gâthic; also the Hadha-mâthric into two, one the Mâthra of the arranger—which is the Pâkînö and Radö-dâdö-aítö<sup>3</sup>—and one the Mâthra full of good tokens, which is the rest of the Hadha-mâthra; and also the Law into two, one the law against the demons—which is the Vendidâd<sup>4</sup>—and one the law of Zaratûst, which is the rest of the Law.

4. Then it is apportioned into twenty-one, such as the twenty-one words (*mârik*) of the Ahunavair; also the Gâthas are into twenty-one, which are the Ahunavair, the praise of righteousness, the performance of the good, and from Yânim-manô unto Airyaman<sup>5</sup> which, being

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and the five-lined stanzas are the remaining 65 in the Ustavaiti (Yas. XLIII-XLVI); making the total of 278 stanzas mentioned in § 5. Yas. XLII is a later supplement to the Yasna of seven hâs, and, in the MSS. Pt4, Mf4, it is headed as follows:—Avar vaharakö-f hâft hâdö Yastö yazisnök bûn, ‘the beginning of worshipping as regards the portions of the Yasna of seven hâs.’

<sup>1</sup> The MS. corrupts these two names into the one word asnavatö by omitting the syllables aûsta.

<sup>2</sup> The Stôd-yast, or first of the Gâthic Nasks (see Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 9).

<sup>3</sup> The third and fourth of the Hadha-mâthric Nasks (ibid. 10).

<sup>4</sup> The fifth of the Legal Nasks (ibid. 11).

<sup>5</sup> The three sacred formulas, Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, Ashem-vohû,

accomplished (*âkardö*), are twenty-one; and the Nasks are twenty-one.

5. Then the Gâthas are apportioned into 278<sup>1</sup> stanzas (*vêkêstö*); and the Nasks also into 278 categories, every single category *having* borne a form like a single verse<sup>2</sup>, as regards how much and how *anything* good is indicated, such as the Patkârradîstân<sup>3</sup>, in which *what is* legally disputable is reported (*pêdâkô*); the Zâkhmistân<sup>4</sup>, by which the penalty of assault (*zâkhm*) is reported; the Stôris-tân<sup>5</sup>, by which the sin and amount of penalty *for* a wound, as regard beasts of *burden and cattle*, are reported; the Aratêstâristân<sup>6</sup>, by which battle is reported; the Pasûs-haûrvastân<sup>7</sup>, by which the customary keeping of sheep in control is reported; the Gûrdâi-zaritunistân ('*corn-sowing code*')<sup>8</sup>, by which agriculture is reported; the Varistân<sup>9</sup>, by which an ordeal *being* accomplished is reported; and others of a like description.

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and Yênhê-hâtäm, with the seventeen hâs of the five real Gâthas, and either the Yasna of seven hâs, counted as a single item, or the Airyaman, will make up the twenty-one divisions (compare the names applied to each fargard of the Sûdkar, Varstmânsar, and Bakô Nasks in Dk. IX).

<sup>1</sup> See § 2 n; here the MS. has 288, by miswriting, in both occurrences of the ciphers.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtful; the text appears to be as follows:—*koâ ragistakô-aê bûrðo san mânâk ak gâh.*

<sup>3</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XVI.

<sup>4</sup> Equivalent to Zatamistân (*ibid.* Chap. XVII), see Darmesteter's suggestion (*ibid.* Chap. XVI, 8 n).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Chap. XXIV; here spelt Stôritân by mistake.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Chap. XXVI.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Chap. XXIII; here written Pasûs-haûristân.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* Chap. XXXI, 30-32.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Chap. XLII; here written Varistân.

6. Then the Gâthas are apportioned into 1016<sup>1</sup> metrical lines (*gâs*), and the Nasks into 1000 Hâs and Fargards<sup>2</sup>, and, since the Hâdôkht<sup>3</sup> is the priestly master (*radô*) of the Nasks, and the remedy<sup>4</sup> (*darmân*) which is a perfect statement about the master of the resurrection, the existence of its fargards about the other fargards is therefore 1000 remedies fully combined, being the corn and fodder that are shut up (*bastakô*) when, over that thousand, they supply one that is great, which in every way protects them from hail and rain, from the wind which is hot and that which is cold.

7. Then the Gâthas are apportioned into 6666 words (*mârik*)<sup>5</sup>, and as to the Nasks, too, their own 6666 ordinances (*dâdistânô*) are therein severed.  
 8. And the 6666 words, which are in the Gâthas, are

<sup>1</sup> See Sls. XIII, 50; that this number is correct may be seen from the details given in § 2 n.

<sup>2</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 20; here the MS. has âyûñô instead of hâtô, by miswriting.

<sup>3</sup> The sixth of the Gâthic Nasks (see Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 9).

<sup>4</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 13, where the word used is bêshâzô.

<sup>5</sup> According to Sls. XIII, 50 the six Gâthas (including the Yasna of seven hâs) contain 5567 vâkak, 9999 mârik, and 16,554 khûr-dak; which enumeration makes the meaning of mârik doubtful. In our present text, however, it must have its usual meaning of 'word,' as the number of 6666 words in the six Gâthas can be obtained by including the customary repetition of the first stanza of each Hâ of the five real Gâthas, with the text of the Airyaman and of the introductions to Yas. XXVIII, XXXV, and probably the homage formula prefixed to each Gâtha; also by considering each component of a compound as a separate word, and all verbal prefixes as separable; and by counting all enclitics except -kâ, in accordance with the different modes of treating -kîd and -kâ in counting the words of the Ahunavair. If the three sacred formulas were included, and the Airyaman and five homage formulas were omitted, the total would be nearly the same.

an indicator of *the period* from the adversary *having* come to the creatures, as far as unto the end of the six millenniums<sup>1</sup>—each millennium *being* ten centuries—which amount to 60 single centuries—a century *being* ten tens<sup>2</sup>—and up to *the time* when its<sup>3</sup> cold and distress arrive, which become awful; the 600, including the excess as far as one ten<sup>4</sup>, are years of the 6000 years which are the words of the six Gâthas that are the first indicator of the six millenniums; therefore of the 60 centuries are then the 600 and those which are added to them (*zak-i gha!*).

9. And after those 6000, which are the 6000 years, are the Airyaman<sup>5</sup> of Ashavahist and the accompanying sayings (*ham-vâkô*) which are at the end of the Gâthas; those are the 57 years of Sôshâns<sup>6</sup>, and for the sake of them, too, are the Airyaman and from the praise of righteousness at *its* end to the consecration of the Airyaman, originally 57 words (*mârik*), because the praise of righteousness for the Airyaman is 12, and the consecration of the Airyaman is 21, of the original 57<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The three millenniums during which Aûharmazd and Aharman had nearly equal influence, and the last three millenniums during which the power of Aharman diminishes (see Bd. I, 20).

<sup>2</sup> Assuming that ፭ stands for ፯.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that *mînas*, ‘whose,’ stands for *amatas*.

<sup>4</sup> As the cipher for ‘one’ precedes that for ‘ten,’ it may possibly mean ‘one less than ten,’ as in the Roman IX. At any rate, 6609 years with the 57 accounted for in § 9 make up the requisite total of 6666; but the mode of making this number correspond with the six millenniums is not very clear.

<sup>5</sup> Yas. LIV, 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14; Bd. XXX, 7.

<sup>7</sup> The Airyaman contains 24 words, its Ashem-vohû 12, and its consecration (Yas. LIV, 2) 21 words, making altogether 57 words.

## DINKARD.—BOOK III.

CHAPTER VII<sup>1</sup>.

## The ninth question.

1. Another apostate enquired thus: ‘When there is Māthra that is said to be all in the words of Aūharmazd to Zaratûst, whether it be in the words of Frashôstar and Gâmâsp<sup>2</sup>, or be in the words of Vohûman<sup>3</sup> and the sacred beings, or be in words of theirs published before the time of Zaratûst, or even after that of Sêno<sup>4</sup>, is it to be considered by us, as to that which is relating to us, that what is the utterance of Aūharmazd to Zaratûst is only the Gâthic, and the rest is composed by Zaratûst and his disciples from the world, even statements due to a good inclination for conversion (vastakîh)?’

2. The reply is that the other Māthra which is separate from the Gâthas, if it be apart from the Gâthas, is still owing to the composition of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô<sup>5</sup>; and the same separate Māthra, which is from a witness about it, is the evidence with Aūharmazd himself in vigorous omniscience and composition, and not owing to the knowledge of mankind, which shall not attain even to an atom of the atoms thereof. 3. The arising of the Māthra, through the speaking of many voices, is not all the speaking of Aūharmazd to Zaratûst through those

<sup>1</sup> According to Peshotan’s notation; the text followed is that of the MS. B, written A.D. 1659.

<sup>2</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

<sup>3</sup> This seems a more likely reading than ‘Hôm’ for the imperfect word گرم.

<sup>4</sup> See Chap. CXCVII, 6 n.

<sup>5</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 7 n.

voices, but the speaking of several separately, through which the speaking of the voice would be evidently *that of Aûharmazd*; that is this Mâthra. 4. *And just as the speaking forth of Zaratûst and other good men, as well as evil ones, likewise of those who are demons, even as far as the evil spirit, is stated by Aûharmazd in public, that statement would become even that of the evil spirit and demons, and the Mâthra and Law against the demons would likewise become spoken by the demons.* 5. And the Mâthra is all *confided by Aûharmazd* to Zaratûst through many voices, *being an avowal of Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, and an existence which is not inconsistent (han-bêshin); just as the Gâthas, which even you admit to be, as a whole, confided by Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, are spoken through the voice of Zaratûst, be they through the voices of the archangels, be they through the voice of Gôs-aûrvan<sup>1</sup>, or be they through the voices of other sacred beings, to all they are spoken by Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, and are not inconsistent.* 6. *But owing to the disposition of an apostate there is a longing scrutiny about his own statements, and evil-thinking scrutiny about the statements protecting the spiritual lord.*

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### CHAPTER CLXI.

1. About *one* supremely<sup>2</sup> acquainted with the three<sup>3</sup> codes (dâdö) of the Mazda-worshipping religion there is *this*:—*One supremely acquainted*

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<sup>1</sup> See Dk. IX, Chap. XV, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps we should read *avîrtar*, ‘more particularly,’ instead of *avartar*.

<sup>3</sup> B has ‘four’ by mistake here, but not afterwards.

with the three codes of the Mazda-worshipping religion is he of the primitive faith whose insight into the good religion is even such that he knows how to discriminate and announce the statements (*vâkakö*) of the Hadha-mâthric and Gâthic from those of the Law, those of the Legal and Gâthic from those of the Hadha-mâthric, and those of the Hadha-mâthric and Legal from those of the Gâthas. 2. Also to the statements (*vâkakö*) in the Law—which is superior<sup>1</sup> knowledge about the worldly existences—is allotted (*vakhtö*) the worldliness of the Hadha-mâthric and also of the Gâthic; to those in the Gâthas—which are superior knowledge about the spiritual existences—is allotted the spirituality of the Hadha-mâthric and even that of the Law; and to those in the Hadha-mâthra—which is superior knowledge about things intermediate between the spiritual and worldly existences—is allotted the intermediate matter (*mîyânîkîh*) of the Gâthic and also of the Legal<sup>2</sup>.

### CHAPTER CLXV.

1. About the purport of the evidence of the three codes of the Mazda-worshipping religion, one as regards the other, there is verbal evidence of the Gâthic from the Hadha-mâthric and the Law, and about the Hadha-mâthric and the Law from the Gâthas. 2. The purport, too, of the statement that occurs is this of a ruler putting aside the commands of an enemy—which are declared, in many passages (*dîvâk*) of the Hadha-mâthric and even of the Legal, to be worthiness of death—the purport being in the words of a Gâthic phrase (*nisang*) that is

<sup>1</sup> See p. 407, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 13, 14.

even this:—‘He who is a good ruler is a desire *and* bringing on of fortune for me (*valam*)<sup>1</sup>.’ 3. All rulers also for the world have arisen *for* their own, and for maintaining him who is high-priest; they are submissive, and *any one* accomplishing their commands—which are putting aside the commands of their enemy—is, owing to their submissiveness, authorisedly maintaining his own person *and* wealth *in* the world thereby, *and* in the world there is no place, *nor* yet a share of anything therefrom, on account of which he becomes offended by the world.

4. The evidence of the Hadha-māthic and of the Legal about a Gāthic statement is the purport *of* these words in a Gāthic phrase, that ‘not *for* him who is rightly proceeding is *there* further ruin<sup>2</sup>;’ and the evidence from the Hadha-māthic is even this which states that ‘rectitude assists a man like a regiment a thousand strong<sup>3</sup>;’ also for the proportion of rectitude in *his* possession there is no disturbance whatever, and from the hurtful (*vinâsigânō*) from without *he* is thus protected, because fully-worshipping (*pûr-yazân*) performance is freedom from danger from the want of freedom from wickedness (*α-adarvandih*) of the enemy, as regards benefit through the doing of injury by him.

5. And on account of the superior knowledge of the spiritual *existence*, moreover, for the Gâthas above the intermediate Hadha-māthic *and* the lower knowledge of the Law, the purpose of the Gâthas was for the statements of the Legal *and* the Hadha-māthic, and the provision of the Hadha-māthic.

<sup>1</sup> Pahl. Yas. L, 1 a.

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 5 c.

<sup>3</sup> Dk. IX, Chap. XX, 4.

and the Legal was evidently for the statements of the Gâthas.

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## CHAPTER CXCVII.

6. One<sup>1</sup> is *that*, on account of him who gave the Legal, and is also the protector of a priestly master who is given over to the Hadha-mâthric, and the Gâthic, through which the purity of the good creations arises, *one* is more steadfastly to aggrandise and develope *them*.

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## DÎNKARD.—BOOK IV<sup>2</sup>.

1. Obeisance to the Mazda-worshipping religion which is opposed to the demons *and* is the ordinance of Aûharmaza.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the fourth of 'the ten admonitions of the righteous Sêñôv about the law of the Mazda-worshipping religion.' In the seventh book of the Dînkard it is stated that 'as regards the highpriests this, too, is said on the subject of Sêñôv, that one hundred years of the religion elapse when Sêñôv is born, and two hundred years when he passes away; he was also the first Mazda-worshipper with a life of a hundred years (100 khayâ), and who walks forth upon this earth with a hundred disciples.' This last clause clearly identifies him with the 'Saêna, son of Ahûm-stud, who first appeared upon this earth with a hundred pupils,' as stated in Yt. XIII, 97 (see Darmesteter, *Textes pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme*, première partie, p. 3, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> This book commences with an account of the seven archangels, and, illustrative of the 'desirable dominion' personified in Shatraver, the fourth of them, a statement is made of the legendary history of the efforts made by the good rulers, from Vistâsp to Khûsrô Anôsharavân, for the preservation of Avesta and Pahlavi

2. The fourth *book* is matter for instruction from the statements selected, from the instruction of the good religion, by the saintly (hû-fravardö) Âtûr-farnbag<sup>1</sup>, son of Farukhö-zâd and leader of those of the good religion.

3. From the Selection of Customary Instruction<sup>2</sup> there is *this*:—Number one is the actual original evolution<sup>3</sup>, resembling only himself *and* not designed (*kimik*). 4. Number two, the duplication of the first among those akin (khvêsigân) owing to the consciousness of creation—which is the first—is Vohûman; but *it is* his origin, concealed from the destroyer, which is the reason of the creation.

. . . . .  
10. Number three is the original creature Ashavahist<sup>4</sup>—due to development among those akin, one out of another—who possesses the third place among the archangels, for the reverence of the first.

. . . . .  
12. Number four, the perfect sovereignty among

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littérature. Most of this statement has been already translated at the end of Haug's Essay on Pahlavi, from a less perfect MS. than B, but, as some of the accompanying text is obscure, it has now been necessary to translate the whole of it to ascertain its connection clearly, although only so much of this translation is here given as will indicate this connection in a general way.

<sup>1</sup> Who held a religious disputation with the accursed Abâlis in the presence of the Khalifah Al-Mâmûn (A. D. 813–833), as stated in the Mâdgân-i Gugastak Abâlis. He appears to have been the first compiler of the Dînkard, especially of its first two Books which are still undiscovered (see Dk. III, Chap. last, 9, in Introduction; Sg. IV, 107, IX, 3, X, 55). Dk. IV, V are taken from his statements, as well as a portion of Dk. III, Chap. CXLII.

<sup>2</sup> Âyûñô âmûkô vigûñô, evidently the name of a treatise compiled by Âtûr-farnbag.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Aûharmazd.

<sup>4</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14.

those akin, is named Shatraver<sup>1</sup>, the necessity of the stored-up (*avar-gûdö*) nature of a spiritual lord arisen from the reverence of the perfectly just doer Ashavahist, who is the third in arising from him who is the second, Vohûman, who is the first creature. . . . . 19. So, too, the sovereignty of the religion is ever specially good sovereignty *and* triumphant, and the true religion is confident; the will of the sacred beings in the world is progress, and the comprisal of every knowledge is in the *Mazda*-worshipping religion; the correct attainment of its good sovereignty and their joint statement are together really on account of their concealed good protection and progressive production, one for the other. 20. They strive for the powerful maintenance of the religious good monarchy of rulers, trusty *in* religion through practising *Mazda*-worship; the law of the rulers is custom, and their custom is religious.

21. Vistâsp<sup>2</sup>, the king when he became relieved (*pardakhtö*) from the war with Ar'gâsp<sup>3</sup>, sent to the chief rulers about the acceptance of the religion, 'and the writings<sup>4</sup> of the *Mazda*-worshipping religion, which are studded with all knowledge through resources and learning of many kinds, and *also* the tongue *of* a Magian man (*Magôî-gabré*), arisen *in* the very same instructed duty, it is expedient you *should* send (*sedrûnêdö*) therewith.' 22. Now

<sup>1</sup> See Dk. IX, Chap. XLIII, 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. XI, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Haug's MS. omits this passage: *val sar-khûdâyân madam pafrôftanö-f dêñô firistakö, va-nipikihâ-f*; and, even when it is supplied from B, a few more words appear to be still wanting.

*Arezrâspô*<sup>1</sup>, and others from outside of Khvanîras<sup>2</sup>, came to Frashôstar for religious enquiry, with complete intelligence for the most who did so.

23. Dârâî<sup>3</sup>, son of Dârâî, ordered the preservation of two written copies of the whole Avesta and Zand, according to the receiving of it by Zarâtûst from Aûharmazd; one in the treasury of Shapîgân<sup>4</sup>, and one in the fortress of written documents.

24. Valkhas<sup>5</sup>, descendant of Askân, in each district, just as he had come forth, ordered the careful preservation, and making of memoranda for the royal city (shatrô shahag), of the Avesta and Zand as it had purely come unto them, and also of whatever instruction (âmûkô-k), due to it, had remained written about, as well as deliverable by the tongue through a high-priest, in a scattered state in the country of Irân, owing to the ravages and devastation of Alexander and the cavalry and infantry of the Artûmans<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the same person as Arezrâspâh (Dk. IX, Chap. XXI, 24), the supreme high-priest of the northern region Vîdadafsh (Bd. XXIX, 1). In Dk. VII it is also stated that Spîtôis and Arezrâspô came to Frashôstar, seeking information about the religion, 57 years after it had been received by Zarâtûst who appears to have departed to the best existence ten years before.

<sup>2</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 2.

<sup>3</sup> According to Bd. XXXIV, 8 and the Persian Rivâyats, which teach a chronology of their own, this Dârâî was the predecessor of Alexander and reigned fourteen years; his father reigning twelve years.

<sup>4</sup> It is hazardous to read 'the royal (shâyagân) treasury' because the name, which occurs seven times in the Dînkard, is five times spelt Shapîgân, and twice Shaspîgân.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Vologeses I, who was a contemporary of Nero and appears to have been a Mazda-worshipper (see S. B. E., vol. iv, p. xxxiv).

<sup>6</sup> The older Greeks were so called by the Persians in Sasanian

25. That (valman-1-1) Artakhshatar<sup>1</sup>, king of kings, who was son of Pâpak, summoned Tôsar, and also all that scattered instruction (âmûkô), as true authority, to the capital; Tôsar having arrived, him alone he approved, and, dismissing the rest of the high-priests, he also gave this command, namely: 'For us every other exposition of the Mazda-worshipping religion becomes removed, because even now there is no information or knowledge of it below.'

26. Shahpûhar<sup>2</sup>, king of kings and son of Artakhshatar, again brought together also the writings which were distinct from religion, about the investigation of medicine and astronomy, time, place, and quality, creation (dahîsnô), existence, and destruction (vinâsisnô), the submission of a wild beast<sup>3</sup>, evidence, and other records and resources that were scattered among the Hindûs, and in Arûm<sup>4</sup> and other lands; and he ordered their collocation again with the Avesta, and the presentation of a correct copy of each to the treasury of Shapîgân<sup>5</sup>; and the settlement (astinîdanô) of all the erring upon the Mazda-worshipping religion, for proper consideration, was effected.

27. Shahpûhar<sup>6</sup>, king of kings and son of Aûhar-mazd, instituted a tribunal (âvân âhankô kardö) for the controversy of the inhabitants of all regions,

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times, because they came from the same quarter as the later armies of the eastern empire of the Romans.

<sup>1</sup> The first Sasanian king, who reigned A. D. 226-240.

<sup>2</sup> The second Sasanian king, who reigned A. D. 240-271.

<sup>3</sup> Doubtful; but it is difficult to find a more probable meaning for dadakô hêrîh.

<sup>4</sup> The eastern empire of the Romans.

<sup>5</sup> See § 23.

<sup>6</sup> The ninth Sasanian king, who reigned A. D. 309-379.

and brought all statements to proper consideration and investigation; *and* after the preservation of Âtûrpâd<sup>1</sup>, through the statement which he maintained (*pasâkhtō*) with all those *of* different sects, and the Nasks *were* enumerated, he also spoke this even *to* those who *were* heterodox, namely: ‘Now, when the religion is recognised by us in the worldly *existence*, we do most diligently endeavour *that* they shall not allow the infidelity (*agdêñôih*) of any one whatever;’ and he acted accordingly.

28. This (le-denman-1-i<sup>2</sup>) Khûsrôî<sup>3</sup>, king of kings *who is* son of Kavâd, as apostasy and tyranny *were* fully antagonistically smitten by him<sup>4</sup>, and information and redoubled proper consideration *were* abundantly augmented—through a declaration from the religion unto every apostasy *of* the four classes (*pîsakô*)—also spoke even this as to winning the sacred beings (*yazdân kharidîh*), namely: ‘The truth of the Mazda-worshipping religion is fully understood, *and* the intelligent *are* steadfastly capable through proper consideration; but recognition by the worldly *existence has* mostly become exceedingly scattered, *and* the particulars are not possible through proper consideration, but through purity *of* thought,

<sup>1</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Literally ‘this one who is,’ which, applied to a person near at hand, is a phrase analogous to *valman-1-i*, ‘that one who is,’ applied in § 25 to a person more remote. The oblique case *le-denman* of the demonstrative pronoun, which occurs very rarely, is analogous to the oblique cases *li*, *lanman*, *lak*, *lekîm* of the personal pronouns, which occur constantly..

<sup>3</sup> The twentieth Sasanian king, who reigned A.D. 531–579; he was surnamed Anôsharavân, ‘immortal-souled.’

<sup>4</sup> Referring to his extirpation of the heresy of Mazdak, A.D. 528, before he came to the throne.

word, and deed, and the statements of the good spirit, the liturgical ceremonial of the sacred beings with purity.

29. 'We also call, each of those called by us, a priest of Aûharmazd, whose perception of the spiritual *existence* is manifested unto us; and our wide resources, the perception of the spiritual *existence and the example of the worldly one*, are likewise indications of both natures *that are complete*. 30. And we invite (bavîhûnêm) those invited<sup>1</sup>, even with that excellence *and efficiency* which are due to them, on account of which the sacred beings are predominantly over Irân; the country of Irân *having proceeded onwards through instruction from the Mazda-worshipping religion* which the ancients celebrated. 31. The knowledge of the sociable ceremonial (ham-yazisnîh)—for which, indeed, those of the intelligent of disunited Khvanîras are not in a dispute of antagonism—is, *in that way*, mostly the sonorous (aêvâzîk) Avesta, in the pure statement of the writing adornable by memoranda of particulars; and even the simple wordless (avâkîk) mode is maintained in the announcement of the statement.

32. 'Even then all the domestic (khânîk) knowledge of the Mazda-worshipping religion is really on this account, which is understood by us, that, when all are intellectual (vîr-hômônd), and the proper consideration of a stranger (bîgânakô) is owing to the world of the Mazda-worshipping religion, they arrive at this place. 33. *But* through the new possession and proper consideration of the stranger, owing to the Mazda-worshipping religion, they are

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<sup>1</sup> As in Yas. II.

not capable of bringing about so much acquirement and manifestation of knowledge, for the advantage and open duty of the worldly *existence*, as is in the recitation of a priestly master through much investigation, and is abundantly well-considered. 34. And if we command, with the utmost solicitude, the proper consideration of the Avesta and Zand of the primitive Magian statements (*Magôî-gobisnô*), which are more humbly observant, better disposed, good, and ever renewed uneffacedly, as well as an increase of acquirement worthily therefrom, for the knowledge of those of the world, *there is* no necessity of first acquiring the quality of creation from the creator, by those who are worldly *existences*, for understanding the creator and the marvellousness of the spiritual *existences*; or all necessity of acquiring is said to be longing through scanty knowledge.

35. 'They who are a counterpart (*aêdûnôih*) of manifestation from the religion—and even through the resemblance *there is* a possibility of the existence of understanding—are mentioned as effecting proper consideration (*hû-sikâl-gar*); and he who has to exhibit enlightenment (*rôshanô*) through knowledge, has to maintain acquaintance with the religion. 36. And since the origin of every knowledge is the religion, alike through spiritual power, and alike through worldly manifestation<sup>1</sup>, that which any one has wisely spoken—even though not considered by him as similarly beheld (*ham-didö*) by any Avesta declaration—is still then accounted as a manifestation from the religion, whose business is

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that *pêdâkîh-inidârîh* stands for *pêdâkînîdârîh*.

bringing forth offspring for the sacred beings through instruction.'

37<sup>1</sup>. . . . .

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## FROM PERSIAN RIVÂYATS<sup>2</sup>.

### I. FROM THE RIVÂYAT OF BAHMAN PÜNGYAH<sup>3</sup>.

The names of the twenty-one Nasks, from the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô :— Yathâ, the Stûdkar; ahû, the Varstah-mânthrah; vairyô, the Bagh; athâ, the Dâmdâd; ratus, the Nâdûr; ashâd, the Pâzûn; kîd, the Ratustâyîd; hakâ, the Baris; vangheus, the Kassrôb; dazdâ, the Vistâspâd; mananghô, the Dâd; shyaothananâm, the Kîdrast; angheus, the Spentah; mazdâi, the Bayân-yast; khshathremkâ, the Niyâdâm; ahurâi, the Duvâsarôgîd; â, the Hûspârâm; yim, the Sakadâm; drigubyô, the Gud-dêv-dâd<sup>4</sup>; dadað, the Hâdokht of the Dvâzdah-hâmâspah; vâstârem, the Yast<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Then follows a briefer account of the remaining three archangels.

<sup>2</sup> These extracts from the Persian Rivâyats are taken from MS. 29 belonging to the Bombay University Library, which is a copy, made A.D. 1679, from a long Rivâyat said to have been compiled by Barzû Kâmdîn. The same extracts are to be found in many other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Bahman Püngyah of Surat, a layman whose father's name appears to have been Isfendyâr, returned from Persia A.D. 1627, with letters and MSS. from priests in Irân in reply to letters from priests in India.

<sup>4</sup> The Vendîdâd.

<sup>5</sup> The order in which the Nasks are here arranged is the same as that employed in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 12, and was in general

## II. FROM THE RIVÂYAT OF KÂMAH BAHRAH<sup>1</sup>.

1. The name of the first of these books is Stôd-yast<sup>2</sup>, and this is a book of thirty-three compilations (*ȝûrat*), that is, of thirty-three subdivisions (*kardah*). The sending down of this book was for the description of the Lord<sup>3</sup> and his angels; and he made it an indispensable duty for the whole world that they learn this book by heart, and for this purpose they form an assembly. Of this total of twenty-one Nasks it is one Nask of the Avesta, and in that mode they recite this.

2. The name of the second is Stûdgâr<sup>4</sup>, and this is of twenty-two subdivisions, which God, the praise-

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use 600 years ago, as we find that Rûstâm Mitrô-ȝpân (the writer of the original from which Kr was copied A.D. 1324) considered the Vendîdâd as the nineteenth Nask, corresponding to the Avesta word drigubyô in the Ahunavair. In Olshausen and Mohl's *Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre*, a similar list of the Nasks is extracted from Anquetil's Great Rivâyat, in which the order and orthography of the names of the Nasks are the same as those adopted by the later writers of the Persian Rivâyats, beginning with the Stôd-yast and ending with the Hâdokht (which makes the Vendîdâd the twentieth Nask), and reversing the order of the Kîdrast and Spentah, as well as that of the Duvâsarôgîd and Hûspârâm.

<sup>1</sup> This writer is often quoted in the Rivâyats, but no particulars about him have been noticed. Another copy of this text occurs in MS. 225 of Ouseley's Collection (O225, fols. 15-19) in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; Olshausen and Mohl (OM) combine the information given in II and III; and MS. 10 of Haug's Collection in the State Library at Munich (MH10, fols. 55-57) combines II and IV.

<sup>2</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XLVI.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that 'hvêṣ, 'his own,' stands for 'hudâî, as in Riv. IV, 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. II, and IX, Chaps. II-XXIII.

worthy *and* exalted, sent down for prayer and virtue, authority and intercession, and giving union to kindred.

3. The name of the third is Vahist-mânthrah<sup>1</sup>, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions, which God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, sent down for faith and heedfulness in religion. *One* is reminded, in this book, about the intention and character of Zarastur; also the goodness of the creation, and the good actions before Zarastur; and the narrative of this book extends in this manner up to the resurrection.

4. The name of the fourth is Bagh<sup>2</sup>; this book is of twenty-one parts (*pârah*) or subdivisions, and its explanation is about whatever is in the religion; also a declaration of God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and *of* whatever the Lord *has* made incumbent on mankind as to devotion and heedfulness, as to justice and virtue, *and* as to good actions, closing the path of Satan to oneself, *and* approaching the last abode, that is, the other world.

5. The name of the fifth is Dvâzdah-hâmâst<sup>3</sup>, and the commentary of this book is for assistance<sup>4</sup>. This book is of thirty-two subdivisions, which God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, sent down in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the upper world and lower world. Also a description of the whole of them, and *of* whatever the Most Just, the praiseworthy and exalted, *has* made mention in the

<sup>1</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. III, and IX, Chaps. XXIV–XLVI.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Chap. IV and Chaps. XLVII–LXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Chap. V.

<sup>4</sup> Written *dar-imdâd*; but, omitting the letter *r*, we should have ‘the Dâmdâd’.

sky and the earth, water, plants, and fire, mankind and quadrupeds, grazing animals and birds, and whatever is created for the advantage and equipment of them. And like this, moreover, the resurrection, that is, the raising of the dead, *their* path, assembling, and dispersion, and the nature and circumstances of the resurrection, as to good doers and evildoers, through the gravity of every action which they perform as good *or* bad.

6. The name of the sixth is Nâdar<sup>1</sup>, and that is of thirty-five compilations which are sent down about the stars and the aspect and life of the sky. Also a description of the constellations, which are auspicious and which inauspicious, the method of these sciences and the operation of each one; whatever they say in sublime words, and whatever remains in this. They separate this from a book whose name in Arabic is Bavafâl<sup>2</sup> and is about the knowledge of the stars; and in Persian the name of that book is Favâmîgasân<sup>3</sup>, and they have made much more mention of the meaning of that, and of instruction of this kind for the moderns.

7. The name of the seventh is Pâgam<sup>4</sup>, and this is a book of twenty-two subdivisions, which God, the praiseworthy and exalted, sent down about quadrupeds *and* how it is necessary to render *them*

<sup>1</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. VI. Singularly enough, the writers in the Rivâyats profess to know very much about this and their twelfth Nask, of neither of which the Dînkard knows anything.

<sup>2</sup> In the different MSS. consulted, this name is four times written بوقطال and once بوقطال.

<sup>3</sup> Variously written فوامیحسان, فوامحسان, فوامسخان, فواممسخان, خواحسان.

<sup>4</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. VII.

lawful, which is lawful and which unlawful, *and* how they slaughter *them*; which it is and how it is necessary to slaughter *it* for the sake of a season-festival, and whatever is about a season-festival; how it is necessary to celebrate *it*, and the person who takes the things<sup>1</sup>; the expense of a season-festival and how much the reward is; how it is necessary to give to the priests, controllers (*radân*), and high-priests, and to any persons who are without doubts, who in speech, action, and intention are virtuous, and any persons who recite the season-festival *liturgy*. And everything wise is in this book; and this is incumbent on all people that they learn this, and *it is* the same for all till the days of the guardian spirits; and every one who possesses knowledge seeks for this, and causes intercession by mankind, for the sake of the worthy, such as clothing *for* a righteous gift, so that *one* obtains recompense in the end from heaven; and it is necessary to give this clothing *for* a righteous gift to relations and the worthy.

8. The name of the eighth is *Ratustâyi*<sup>2</sup>, and this is of fifty subdivisions, *but* when, after *the time of* Alexander, they held an enquiry, they found no more *than* thirteen subdivisions. And these are about the affairs of the king and obedience, judges and whatever becomes important in holding enquiries, philosophers and devotees; about the edifices of cities, constructed and made magnificent, birds and species of animals, fish *and* whatever is

<sup>1</sup> Oz25 has *kîzhâ*, the others only *hâ*; but compare Dk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. VIII.

Ormazd's, the fowls of Ormazd besides the creatures of Aharman; likewise mountains, rivers, and land, and the like of these.

9. The name of the ninth is Baris<sup>1</sup>, and this is a book of sixty subdivisions, but after the time of Alexander they found again no more than twelve subdivisions. And these are about descriptions of kings and judges, and an investigation of their authority and their sufficiency; also the relations of a peasant with peasants, of a king with the kingdom, of judges with a judge, and whatever remains therein. Any actions that are for every nation, how they are ordered, and the option as to their species and nature; also whatever the people know, and the advantage that arises therefrom; besides the sins of people, deceit, telling lies, and whatever remains therein.

10. The name of the tenth is Kaskasîrah<sup>2</sup>, and this is a book of sixty subdivisions, but after the calamity of Alexander they found again no more than fifteen. Its explanation is about the distinction (*fâzil*) of natural wisdom and knowledge<sup>3</sup> from acquired knowledge, that is, the knowledge born from the mother, and the knowledge and instruction they learn; one learned in purity and truthful speaking, and anything that has brought mankind with virtue out of evil, and with purity out of defilement, and this keeps the doctrine praised and great, and whoever is in the vicinity of a king, and is a peasant, becomes greater in honour and dignity; and, in like manner, any things from which advan-

<sup>1</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. IX.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Chap. X.

<sup>3</sup> So in OM, MH10; but O225, B29 are corrupted.

tage arises for mankind; and, *as to* those who tell lies, how it occurs in the vicinity of kings and peasants.

11. The eleventh is the *Vistâsp-shâh*<sup>1</sup>, and that is of sixty compilations, *but* after the calamity of Alexander they found again no *more than* ten subdivisions. It is about Gustâsp's acceptance of the sovereignty, and as to the religion of Zaratust—who *was* skilful in reciting the religion, and maintaining *it* and making *it* current in the world—he chose the religion of Zaratust.

12. The name of the twelfth is '*Hast*'<sup>2</sup>, and this is of twenty-two subdivisions, which are sent down in six portions (*guzû*). The first is about knowing the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified! and faith on account of Zaratust. The second portion is about the obedience of kings, the truth of the religion, complying *with* commands and resisting them, and restraining *one's* hand from bad actions. The third portion is about the promise *to* benefactors and their recompense, evildoers and punishment, and escaping hell. The fourth portion is about the mansions of the world, agriculture, trimming trees, such as the date tree, and whatever remains thereof; the trouble and power of mankind and quadrupeds therefrom, and the obedience they exercise; they are the people to whom heedfulness is attributed, and whatever remains thereof; and the high-priests perform *their* duty by the law of the religion. The fifth portion is about the ranks of mankind, and

<sup>1</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XI. In Riv. IV the surviving subdivisions are said to be only eight, so as to correspond with the sections of the extant *Vistâsp Yast*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Chap. XII. O<sub>225</sub> has '*Hast*'.

those are four ranks : the first is to maintain the king grandly, and, next, the judges and the learned in religion ; the second rank is to keep watch over the cities, and to annihilate the enemy ; of the third rank are writers and, secondarily, cultivators and the society of cities ; of the fourth rank are the people of trade, artizans, market-dealers, and tax-gatherers, in war they appear excited, and it is requisite to give a tithe to the high-priests and king ; they keep on foot the obeisances and good works of which we have spoken, and, when they act thus, they obtain great rewards in the end<sup>1</sup>.

13. The name of the thirteenth is Sfend<sup>2</sup>, and that is of sixty subdivisions which are sent down for the information of people who are in want of it, and for the knowledge of those persons who become covetous of virtuous actions, and act after the proceedings of the learned and people of religion, and receive advantage therefrom ; also as reminders that there is advantage from the daily practice of them. And this book is our reminder about the accounts of the apostle Zaratust by religious people, and whatever is the allotment of God, the exalted ; about the false speaking of the people of the world, and about the goodness of the condition of the people of the world. Also whatever becomes manifest in ten years, about the miracles of Zaratust, by the seven reports that they recite.

14. The name of the fourteenth is Girast<sup>3</sup>, and this is of twenty-two subdivisions sent down for the

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is said of the sixth portion, either in the Rivâyats or the Dîn-vigîrgard.

<sup>2</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Chap. XIII. MHro has Kirast.

understanding of the causes of mankind, which *have* made people manifest in the mother's womb, and afterwards those who come out of the womb, some of whom are apostles, some kings, and some peasants ; and whatever remains therein.

15. The name of the fifteenth is Baghân-yast<sup>1</sup>, and it is of seventeen subdivisions in praise of the creations of God, the praiseworthy and exalted, and the angels admitted to him ; also thanksgiving for his favours, and that which he makes expedient in the religion, augments the thanksgiving for his favour, until one obtains it back in the end ; likewise the appearance of the angels, and this is noble. Praise be to the sacred being, the exalted !

16. The name of the sixteenth is Niyâram<sup>2</sup>, and that is of fifty-four subdivisions, about decrees as to riches, introducing inmates among outsiders, and whatever is made lawful by the exalted Lord ; obtaining deliverance from hell, performing service, slavery, and the nature of wayfarers, and every one who performs service and produces remembrance for mankind ; whatever is in the thoughts of mankind, and whatever is in the bodies of mankind.

17. The seventeenth is Aspâram<sup>3</sup>, and this is of sixty-four subdivisions which are sent down about rituals, those which are in the book of the people of the religion, and an examination of the people's expense they know of, for the safety and punishment they order in the world until they obtain deliverance in the end ; and whatever they do lawfully and do unlawfully they know ; also decrees

<sup>1</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XV.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Chaps. XVI-XX.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Chaps. XXVIII-XXXVII.

as to inheritances and the limits of faith, about anything which they sow and whatever they grow, *and* about regulating nativity; whatever *one* makes incumbent on memory, and whatever *one* makes incumbent on memoranda prepared; also how it is necessary to produce whatever tokens *there are* at the time of childbirth.

18. The name of the eighteenth is Duvâsarôni-gad<sup>1</sup>, *and* it is of sixty-five subdivisions; robbers of human beings and quadrupeds, whatever *one* makes incumbent that they shall give, and an enumeration of what *one* makes incumbent on each one of them, owing to theft and terror, obstructing the roads, the dread of the wayfarers, *and* the disturbance of prisons; and whatever remains therein.

19. The name of the nineteenth is Askâram<sup>2</sup>, *and* it is of fifty-two subdivisions, about judges and philosophers, the method of examining decrees, the knowledge of definitions, and an opinion of those in other matters.

20. The name of the twentieth is Vendîdâd<sup>3</sup>, *and* that is of twenty-two subdivisions, for causing the abstinence of mankind from bad actions, from the devil and disgrace, foreign magicians and those who act after their proceedings and become committers of crime; and we are told of their crime among the whole of the goodness and purity, and the whole of the wickedness and defilement, and the explanation of them.

<sup>1</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chaps. XXI-XXVII. MHro has Duvâsrôb, and OM Duvâsarôgad; duvâ standing for dûbâ, or zûbâ, the traditional reading of the Zvâris ganabâ, 'a thief.'

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Chaps. XXXVIII-XLIII.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Chap. XLIV.

21. The name of the twenty-first is Hâdokht<sup>1</sup>, and this is a book of thirty subdivisions, about the manner of bringing together and the abundance of miracles, also the excellence and connections of them. And the accursed devil goes far from every one who recites this book together with the Yast<sup>2</sup>, and this person is near to the rank (pâigâh) of a sacred being, and his sins become pure; also in this book the accursed devil becomes cursed, and God knows it.

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### III. FROM THE RIVÂYAT OF NARÊMÂN HÔSHANG<sup>3</sup>.

1. Again, that which is in Pahlavi characters is clear *in* that manner, that in the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô there are twenty-one vocables, that is, twenty-one words, and beneath each word there is an equivalent meaning; it is also known to the devout *that* there are twenty-one Nasks of the Avesta.

2. The first Nask is of thirty-three subdivisions, that is, it is of thirty-three compilations, and its name is Stôd-yast, that is, 'producing the praise of the sacred beings;' and the words of the book *have* come down for the majesty of the sacred beings and angels, and they recite *them* in that manner; and *in* the presence of every high-priest of the pure ritual, who rightly understands its Avesta and Zand,

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<sup>1</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV. Ozzg has Hâdôkht.

<sup>2</sup> The Yasna, or Stôd-yast of § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Narêmân Hôshang of Bharôk returned from Persia, A.D. 1478, with letters from priests in Irân in reply to those from priests in India. His account of the Nasks is more abbreviated than the others, and appears to be derived from a Pahlavi original.

as he recites *them* correctly on three occasions, the angels come down ; of this there is no doubt.

3. The name of the second is Istûdgar, and it is of twenty-two subdivisions ; its statements are for the admonition of the people.

4. The name of the third Nask is Vahist-mânthrah, and it is of twenty-two subdivisions ; its purport is to bring confirmation of the religion.

5. The name of the fourth is Bagh, and this is of twenty-one subdivisions ; its explanation is about heedfulness.

6. The name of the fifth is Dvâzdah-hâmâst, and it is of thirty-two subdivisions ; its explanation is in remembrance of the upper world, and about the lower world.

7. The name of the sixth is Nâdar, and that is of thirty-five compilations ; its explanation is about the interpretation of the world of the stars, the planets and constellations, and understanding the arrangement of the sky.

8. The seventh is the Pâgam ; this Nask is of twenty-two subdivisions, and its explanation is with regard to lawful and unlawful animals, whenever they slaughter *them* for the sake of solemnizing a season-festival ; and, again, whatever is manifold reward and good work ; also about the reason of the five days of the guardian spirits, which they call the select, and wherefore they are appointed.

9. The name of the eighth is Ratustâyi, and it is of fifty subdivisions ; of which, after the time of Alexander, they preserved and found no more than thirteen subdivisions ; its explanation is about maintaining devotion, and of obedience to kings, high-priests, and governors.

10. The name of the ninth is Baris, and this Nask was of sixty subdivisions, *but after the time of Alexander* they found no more than twelve subdivisions; its explanation is of those who are kings and high-priests, leaders and princes, judges and messengers, what is the nature of the authority of peasants and princes, and what kind of towns they possess.

11. The name of the tenth is Kassrōb, and this Nask has been of sixty subdivisions, *but after the time of Alexander* they found again no more than fifteen subdivisions; its explanation is about the distinction of natural wisdom and knowledge from acquired knowledge; that which makes mankind pure from defilement, and the usage that maintains the proceedings of mankind.

12. The eleventh is the Nask of Vistāsp-shâh, and it has been of sixty subdivisions, *but after the time of Alexander* they found again no more than ten subdivisions, and *their* statements are with regard to king Gustāsp making the religion current.

13. The name of the twelfth is 'Hast, and it is of twenty-two subdivisions; its explanation is about enquiry of wisdom, maintaining devotion in the world, and the punishment for every sin such as they supply *it*.

14. The name of the thirteenth is Sfend, and it is of sixty subdivisions; its explanation is of that which they demonstrate as miracles from this Nask, that every requirement comes to pass *which* every high-priest—who shall recite this Nask for several days with sevenfold voice, according to that which has been written—shall solicit for the world.

15. The name of the fourteenth is Girast, and

this is of twenty-two subdivisions, its explanation is about the creation of the people of mankind in the day of the Eternal, until the last day of the resurrection occurs ; their becoming manifest in the mother's womb, *and* why some die in the womb and some are born, some are kings and some are peasants.

16. The name of the fifteenth is Baghân-yast, *and* this is of seventeen subdivisions ; its explanation is about the praise of the angels admitted, and, *as to* the servants of the Most Glorious, *at* what period they each become manifest, and what duty they perform, till the resurrection.

17. The name of the sixteenth is Niyâram, and this is of fifty-four subdivisions ; its explanation is about decrees *as to* traders, covenants and decisions, that is, awards with regard to the creatures *and* how they act.

18. The name of the seventeenth is Aspâram, and this is of sixty-four subdivisions ; its explanation in these is well-directed and a good *thing* ; and whatever remains therein.

19. The eighteenth is the Duvâsarôgad, and it is of sixty-five subdivisions ; its explanation is that which is a statement on the subject of Khêdyôdath, that is, forming a union with each other *by* relations and those next *one another*.

20. The name of the nineteenth is Askâram, and it is of fifty-two subdivisions ; its explanation is about the occurrence of the production of the renovation of *the universe*, up to the resurrection *and* future existence which are the converting of the dead alive, Aharman *and* the demons becoming extinct, and the circumstances of those *events*.

21. The name of the twentieth is *Gud-dêv-dâd*<sup>1</sup>, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions; its explanation is of causing the abstinence of mankind from pollution, that is, from defilement, and the assault of evil peculiarly owing to the great; *from* the sight of a menstrual woman, and the like of these, whenever harm and injury happen to the creation.

22. The name of the twenty-first is *Hâdokht*, and this is a book of thirty subdivisions; its explanation is such that the accursed devil goes far from every one *who* shall recite this book together with the Yast, and this person becomes near unto the sacred being, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and in such manner as *he is* near the sacred being in like manner he obtains rank.

. 23. And the purpose of this *being* written is so, that it is known to these humble individuals<sup>2</sup> in this manner, that these books are of those tendencies, and it has been written *by* those devout *ones*<sup>3</sup> in such manner that 'among us no one is able to read the Pahlavi characters, and the interpretation of these Nasks is in Pahlavi; any one who does not know the Pahlavi characters is high-priest and is not able to demonstrate the miracles of the religion, nor that which was written with regard to the commentary of these Nasks.'

<sup>1</sup> Pâz. *gud* is a translation of Av. vi which is merely transliterated by *vîk* in *Vîk-dêv-dâd*, the original form of *Vendidâd*.

<sup>2</sup> The priests in Irân who supplied this information to Narêmân.

<sup>3</sup> The priests in India who had applied for the information, using the words about to be quoted.

IV. FROM THE RIVÂYAT OF DASTÛR BARZÛ  
QIVÂMU-D-DÎN<sup>1</sup>.

1. The reply about the Nasks of the Avesta. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is *of* twenty-one words, and the Avesta is similarly *of* twenty-one Nasks.
2. The name of the first Nask is Stôd-yast, and that book is of thirty-three compilations, that is, it is of thirty-three subdivisions, and the description of the Lord and the angels is in it.
3. The name of the second Nask is Stûdgar, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions; its description is about prayer, virtuous authority, and intercession.
4. The third Nask is the Vahist-mânthrah, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions about faith and heedfulness; and one is reminded [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 3.*]
5. The fourth Nask is the Bagh, and that is of twenty-one subdivisions; its explanation is about the religion and *its* intention, and whatever the Lord *has* made incumbent on mankind as to devotion and heedfulness; also about closing the path of Satan to oneself, and approaching the last abode.
6. The name of the fifth book is Dvâzdah-hâmâst, and that is of thirty-two subdivisions in remembrance of the beginning [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 5.*]
7. The name of the sixth Nask is Nâdar, and that is of thirty-five compilations about the stars

<sup>1</sup> This Dastûr appears to have been one of several residing at Nausârf A.D. 1614-1646; his father's name is more usually written Qavâmu-d-dîn, and his account of the Nasks closely resembles that of Kâmah Bahrah.

and the disposition and life of the sky. [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 6 to*] Bavaftâl, and in Persian the name of that book is Favâmsa'hân, that is, instruction arises therefrom for the moderns.

8. The name of the seventh Nask is Pâgam, *and* that is of twenty-two subdivisions; its description is about quadrupeds *and* how they are made lawful, which is lawful [*&c., as in II, 7, to*] for the sake of a season-festival, and how it is necessary to perform whatever is in a season-festival; the expense of a season-festival [*&c., as in II, 7, to*] high-priests, and a description of the clothing *for* a righteous gift, so that they *may* obtain recompense in the end from heaven.

9. The eighth Nask is the Ratustâyi, *and* that is of fifty subdivisions; its purport is about the affairs of the king and obedience, cities constructed and made magnificent, birds, animals, and fish, and whatever is Ormazd's, besides the creatures of Aharman; [*&c., as in II, 8*].

10. The name of the ninth book is Baris, *and* that is of sixty subdivisions, and about descriptions of kings and judges, and an investigation of their authority; also the relations of a peasant [*&c., as in II, 9, to*] deceit, and telling lies.

11. The name of the tenth book is Kaskanîz, *and* that is of sixty subdivisions, about the advantage (*fâzil*) of natural wisdom and knowledge *as distinguished* from acquired knowledge, that is, the knowledge born from the mother, and the knowledge which they learn *by* instruction; doctrine about purity and truth, and anything [*&c., as in II, 10, to*] how it occurs.

12. The name of the eleventh Nask is Vistâsp,

and that is of sixty compilations, *but* after the calamity of Alexander, when they sought *them* again, they found no more *than* eight subdivisions, and those are about Gustâsp's acceptance [*&c., as in II, 11*].

13. The name of the twelfth book is '*Hast, and*' that is of twenty-two fargards in six portions. The first portion is about knowing the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified! and faith in the mission of Zaratushtr and any duties which are ordered in a book of the religion. The second portion is about the obedience of kings, the truth of the religion, and complying *with* commands. The third portion is about the promise *to* benefactors and their recompence, the punishment of evildoers, and escaping from hell. The fourth portion is about the mansions of the world, agriculture and trimming trees, the power of mankind and quadrupeds arisen therefrom, the obedience they exercise, and whatever duty they perform for the high-priests of the religion. The fifth portion [*&c., as in II, 12, to*] the obeisances, so that they obtain great rewards in the end.

14. The name of the thirteenth book is *Sfend*, and that is of sixty subdivisions, for the information of people who are in want of it, and for their knowledge; also for any persons who become covetous as to virtuous actions, *and* proceed after the footsteps of the learned and people of religion, and receive advantage therefrom; and as reminders of the celestial sphere that there is advantage from the daily practice of them. Also about the accounts of the evil of mankind, by the apostle Zaratushtr, about the false speaking [*&c., as in II, 13*].

15. The fourteenth Nask is the *Girast*, *and* that

is of twenty-two subdivisions, for the understanding of the causes of mankind [*&c., as in II, 14.*].

16. The name of the fifteenth book is Baghānyast, and that is of seventeen subdivisions, in praise of the Lord, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and the admitted angels; also thanksgiving *for* the favours due to that which he makes expedient in the religion, and the thanksgiving *for* his favour *lasts* until one obtains *it* back in the end; likewise the appearance of the angels, and these are nobles for the praise of the sacred being.

17. The name of the sixteenth book is Niyāram, and that is of fifty-four subdivisions, about decrees *as to* riches, bringing abroad, and whatever is made lawful; obtaining deliverance from hell, performing service, slavery, and the nature of wayfarers; whatever is in the thoughts of mankind, and whatever is in the bodies of mankind.

18. The name of the seventeenth book is Aspāram, and that is of sixty subdivisions about rituals [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 17.*].

19. The name of the eighteenth Nask is Duvâsrôb, and that is of sixty-five subdivisions, about robbers (*duvâyân?*) of human beings [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 18.*].

20. The name of the nineteenth Nask is Askâram, and that is of fifty-two fargards [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 19.*].

21. The name of the twentieth Nask is Vîndâd, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 20.*]. And *as to* this book Vîndâd, *which* is the twentieth book of the Nasks, out of the twenty-one Nasks of the Avesta, we and you are now using *it* in the ceremonial, and when,

after the calamity of Alexander, they sought for the books again, they found a portion of each Nask, *but* did not find any Nask in completeness except the Vîndâd which they found complete.

22. The name of the twenty-first Nask is Hâdokht, *and* that is of thirty subdivisions, about the manner of bringing together and the many miracles, and *their* excellences *and* connections ; and in this book the accursed devil becomes cursed and becomes annihilated.

23. At present, since the Nasks *have* not remained perfect in the midst *of us*, it is not possible to solemnize *them*, because Alexander the Rûman<sup>1</sup> carried off a rough draft, in Rûman characters, of those of the twenty-one Nasks of the Avesta which were *about* the stars and medicine, and repeatedly burnt the books of the Avesta, so that the soul of Alexander burns in hell ; and after his calamity, every one of the high-priests, in council together, preserved something of the Avesta in *his* mind, *and* the aggregate *has* disclosed the books of the Yasna (*yast*), Visperad, Vendîdâd, Fravash, Khûrdah Avesta, Darûn, Âfrîngân, Kîdah Vagarkardan, and Bundahis, *which* they wrote correctly; *as to* the remainder (*tatammah*) which they did not write, it was on this account, that they did not preserve *it* correctly in *their* minds. And the expectation, descended from the midst *of them* in the court of Ormazd and the archangels, is thus, that Vargâvand, Peshôtan, and Hushêdar<sup>2</sup> *will* arrive in haste *for* the manifestation of the religion, and the goodness

<sup>1</sup> See Dk. Bk. IV, 24 n.

<sup>2</sup> The three chief producers of the future and final triumph of the religion (see Byt. III, 13-52).

of the religion again assumes splendour from a new head; the good and those of the good religion become cheerful and happy, and the bad and wicked become extinct and disappearing. Amen.

### FROM THE DÎN-VIGIRGARD<sup>1</sup>.

In the name and *for* the propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd these several commentaries (*zand*) are published from revelation (*dênô*).

The names of the twenty-one Nasks.

1. One is this that is Yathâ, that is, the *Stôd-yast*, and the subdivisions of this *Stôd-yast* are thirty-three. In that Nask are the blessing and propitiation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and they are *for* the utterance of praise. Aûharmazd sends this Nask into the world, which is suitable for every one, and whoever has committed this Nask to memory recites *it*. And to every one who, *being* a high-priest, becomes a reciter of both the Avesta and Zand, and shall recite that Nask three times with correctness, the archangels will come near; as to this they know *it* without doubt.

2. The second Nask is that *which is Ahû*, the *Stûdgâr*, and the subdivisions of that Nask are

<sup>1</sup> A Rivâyat in Pahlavi writing, but its language is more Persian than Pahlavi; it commences with this account of the Nasks, combining most of the information contained in the four preceding extracts from the Persian Rivâyats. For this text the translator is indebted to a MS. written A.D. 1813 and belonging to Dastûr Hôshangi Jâmâspji of Poona; a previous translation, in Haug's Essays, was from a transliteration of the same text prepared by Haug some 25 years ago.

twenty-two. In it are the giving of advice to mankind, the performance of prayer and virtue, the doing of good actions, intercession, producing union among relations, *and* such-like topics.

3. The third is Vairyô, the Vahist-mânsar, *and* the subdivisions of this Nask are twenty-two. In this is the topic of those who are becoming without doubt as to the religion of Mazda-worship, causing heedfulness, and thinking about the religion; also the production of the benediction and attributes (*sifât*) of the blessedness of Zaratûst, every action which was declared virtuous before Zaratûst, and all actions which have to occur after Zaratûst until the future existence; the benefit of his world, and such-like topics.

4. The fourth Nask is this *which is* Athâ, the Bagh, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask are twenty-one. In this the topic is this which is the purpose of the religion of Mazda-worship, and the ideas which Aûharmazd caused to be taught unto mankind; the exercise of reverence, heedfulness, adjudication, and justice; the performance of the proper duty of decision, doing good actions (*kâr-i khvâîr*), closing the way of Aharman into oneself, attaining unto the spiritual *existence* for oneself, *and* such as are like *these*.

5. The fifth Nask is Ratus, the Dvâzdak-hômâst, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask are thirty-two. In that Nask are all the topics of the spiritual *existence and* the heavenly state, virtue and vileness, the material *existence* of this worldly state, about the sky and about the earth, and everything which Aûharmazd produced *and which* exists in the water, fire, and plants; human beings and

quadrupeds, grazing animals and birds, and everything which is similarly produced from any (*aēk*) of them, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, that which is the production of the resurrection and future existence, and the coming together and separation at the *Kinvad* pass; the recompense for the doers of good works and the punishment for sinners occur through the future existence, and such-like topics as *these* are.

6. The sixth Nask is *Ashād*, the *Nādūr*, and the subdivisions of that are thirty-five. In this Nask are the purposes of the stars (*nugūm*), the zodiac, and the planets, the goodness and evil of each constellation, and the movement of all the planets in the signs of the zodiac (*būrg*) and lunar mansions (*mahīgān nugūm*). They have translated *it* into Arabic and Persian, and the name they have adopted for this book is *Bútāl*, and in Persian the name which is appointed for it is *Kapāmāgān*.

7. The seventh is this *which is Kid*, and is the *Pāgam*, and its subdivisions are twenty-two. In this *Pāgam* Nask is the topic of the slaughtering of quadrupeds and sheep, how they are to be slaughtered, of which among the quadrupeds the command is that it is allowable to eat, and of which kind the eating is not allowable; how he who slaughters shall strike at the time of the expiring of the sheep. The more expenditure (*saraf*) one makes upon a season-festival, so much the more is the reward; how much it is expedient to bestow upon the *Dastūrs*, *Mōbads*, and *Hērbads*, and upon the unwavering practisers of good works in the good religion; what merit accrues to every one

who celebrates a season-festival and consecrates clothing for a soul, *and* who, *for* that reason, is in the supreme heaven *in* the last times; and it is necessary to give clothing to relations *and* the righteous as a righteous gift, *and* to exercise mediation on the part of the righteous; the five greater and lesser days of the guardian spirits, and the practice of good works on *these* ten days is enjoined in this Nask. It is requisite for all people that they shall read this book with good and wise understanding, that all *may* become aware of *its* topics.

8. The eighth Nask is that *which is* Hâkâ, the Ratustâh, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask *were* fifty when the accursed Alexander had the Nasks burnt up, *but* after that, *as* they sought out this Nask, *only* thirteen of those subdivisions came to hand, and no *more* remained of those previously *existing*. In this Nask are the reasons of performing service, giving orders, and remaining at the command of kings and at the command of high-priests and judges; the adornment-preserving<sup>1</sup> purpose of cities is declared, the command of religion, and things made magnificently (*agîzihâ*), grazing animals, birds, cattle, and fish; everything which is a production of Aûharmazd or Aharman; all the purposes of all the seas, mountains, and lands; *and* matters similar to such as are mentioned.

9. The ninth Nask is this *which is* Vangheus, *and* is the Baris; the subdivisions of that Nask *were* first sixty, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* twelve remained. *As to* the information in this Nask, just as there is the sovereignty for *those*

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that frévvânîk, which might mean ‘important,’ stands for pardazânîk.

who are kings, so *there* is the usage which it is necessary *for them* to practise, and the command of the sentence of judges of the religion such *as* is necessary to be executed; the custody and protection for the world, and making each new city flourishing; also the reasons of people, who are false-speaking, sinners, *and* such-like, are mentioned in this Nask.

10. The tenth Nask is that *which is* Dazdā, the Kassrōb, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask were formerly sixty, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* fifteen subdivisions remained. In that Nask the topic is that which is wisdom and knowledge, the reason of *its* being brought forth from the mother, and the teaching of wisdom *by* demonstration, the performance of purification and the speaking of truth; bringing people from vileness unto virtue, and bringing *them* from defilement and pollution unto purity; greatness and good progeny arise for people near kings, and how the habit of people telling lies, to others and to kings, arises; *and* such-like as *these*.

11. The eleventh Nask was Mananghō, the Vistāspād, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask were sixty, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* ten remained. In this Nask is the topic of the sovereignty of Gūstāsp, and Zaratūst the Spītāmān, *having* brought the religion from Aūharmazd, king Gustāsp accepted *it*, and made *it* current in the world; *and* such-like as *these*.

12. The twelfth is Shyaothananām, the Khūst, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask were first twenty-two, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* six remained. Among those six, which are the first

portions (*zizp* = Ar. *gizb*), the topics in *one* portion are the attributes (*sifât*) of the creator Aûharmazd, and the understanding *of them*; also being without doubt about the religion of Zaratûst, the Spîtâmân, all the duty and good works which are prescribed in the religion, *and* such-like. In the second portion is the reason of service for kings, the truth of the religion, submission *to* all *its* commands, and withholding *one's* hand from evil actions, so that it *has* become far from mischief. In the third portion is that which is the debt for performers of virtuous position, the advantage *of* good works, the final release from hell, *and* such-like. The fourth is the reason of the creation of the world, the practice of agriculture, the cultivation of trees, the date-tree and every fruit-tree; whence arises most strength for people and animals; being under the command of the practisers of good works *and* the virtuous, and being under the command of the high-priests, *and* such-like as they are. In the fifth portion all the specimens of mankind are mentioned: *they* who are of great knowledge, who are kings, judges, and the sages of the religion; in the second specimen are *they* that *have* to keep watch *over* all the cities, and to make the enemy confounded; in the third specimen are these whose object *one* mentions *in the term* ‘husbandmen;’ the fourth specimen which *one* mentions *are* these who are the greatly-skilled and sitters in the market, grandiloquent to repel loss, giving one-tenth to the high-priest and king, and offering praise on hardened knees, the last reward of which is that *one* obtains in the spiritual *existence*.

13. The thirteenth Nask is that which is *Angheus*,

the Spend; its subdivisions are sixty which are precious unto people of pedigrees (*mâyagân*) and those who possess much avidity for virtuous actions and have to proceed in the footsteps (*pâi-rapîh*) of the great and religious; also accounts of Zaratûst, who is born from the womb of Dûghdâvô, till ten years of age. Every Dastûr and Môbad shall recite this Nask in purity, and with ease and the proper words, for several days, and shall obtain every desire of his own, or any wish which he claims on account of (*barâ rât-i*) others.

14. The fourteenth Nask is that which is Mazdâi; the name Zirast is appointed for it, and the subdivisions of that Nask are twenty-two. In like manner this Nask is sent by Aûharmazd, which is to make manifest to the people what is the purpose of that science through which mankind are born from the womb of a mother, how many individuals among them will die away from the womb, and how many individuals will live; how many persons and people among them become kings, and how many, meanwhile (*fîmâ*), exercise apostleship, that is, the high-priesthood; how many are the grandest of people, and how many are the meanest of mankind, and in what mode this occurs; from first to last, the time people are born and all those topics are in this Nask.

15. The fifteenth is Khshathremkâ, and the name of that Nask is Baghân-yast, and its subdivisions are seventeen. In it are the topics of Aûharmazd the lord and the archangels, the knowledge of their attributes, and the service and sublimity of Aûharmazd; at what time every Gâh occurs until the future existence, and what duty is

performed; offering praise for every benefit from Aûharmazd, and obtaining benefit from him; the appearance of the archangels, and knowing what is such-and-such an appearance of such-and-such an archangel in the future existence. This Nask used in the service of Aûharmazd and the archangels is very excellent.

16. The sixteenth is Ahurâi, *and* they have appointed it the name Niyârâm; the subdivisions of that Nask are fifty-four, about the reason of preserving wealth and placing *it* out, agreement *and* measure *by* the cubit *and* handful; everything the creator Aûharmazd has ordained *as* uncontaminated, release from hell, and how to walk in the path of reverence and worship; what is in the mind of man, and what is everything in the body of man; *and* such-like as *these* that are mentioned.

17. The seventeenth Nask is that which is Â, *and* the name they have appointed *for* it is Aspârûm; one mentions sixty-five subdivisions of it, *and* in this Nask is every religious topic which all persons well understand, and the punishment suffered *by* sinners, which they receive in *their* last career; everything which is uncontaminated is allowable, *and* what is not uncontaminated is not allowable; the stars preside over the destiny of mankind; and such-like as *these*.

18. The eighteenth Nask is that *which is* Yim, that *has* the name Duvâsarôzad appointed *for* it, *and* the subdivisions of it are likewise sixty-five. In this Nask are the reasons of next-of-kin marriage, forming connections among relations, *and* such-like as *these*.

19. The nineteenth Nask is Drigubyô, the name

of which is Askâram, *and* is of fifty-two stanzas (*vêkastihâ*), *about* the giving of orders, exercise of authority, and practising wisdom in everything; producing the resurrection, *by* which every person passed *away* is made living again, and the malformations of Aharman and the demons are withered away; *and* such-like.

20. The twentieth Nask is that *which is* Dadað, that they call *by* its name of Vendîdâd, where the meaning *of* this is 'the law against the demons,' which is of twenty-two fargards. The topic *of* it is what preserves mankind from evil *and* pollution, and will restrain *them* from the menstrual, dead matter, pestilence, and running sores. Of all the twenty-one Nasks the Nask of 'the law against the demons' has *alone* remained entire; while several remain scattered by the wickedness (*sûmîh*) of the accursed Alexander, this Nask of the Vendîdâd remained in hand, *and* owing to its elucidation the religion of Mazda-worship exists now.

21. The twenty-first Nask is Vâstârem, whose name *one* calls Hâdôkht, *and its* fargards are said *to be* thirty. In it are much excellence and many miracles, *and* the vile Aharman becomes far from every one who recites this Hâdôkht, and it makes *him* extinct, and *the reciter* comes near unto Aûharmazd and becomes purified from sin.

22. Now, alas! if all these Nasks do not remain, so that *one* is not able to solemnize *them*, that is for this reason, that the accursed Alexander, the Arûman, took several transcripts—in the Arûman language and characters (*hurûfö*)—of any among those twenty-one Nasks which were *about* the stars and medicine, and burnt up the other Nasks; and

the soul of the accursed Alexander, the Rûman, will remain wretched and burnt in gloomy hell till the resurrection, owing to his own vileness which injured the religion of Zaratûst.

23. After the villany of Alexander, an assemblage of several high-priests, who were sages of the religion, brought the Avesta of all *of them* from various places, *and* made a collection *of* so much Avesta and Zand *as* the sacred (*yastô*) Yasna, Visperad, Vendidâd, Ardâ-fravard, and other scraps of the Avesta, the Darûn, Áfrîngân, and the Commands of the religion; all these *were* written, and the Bûndahis book *was* correctly written; *and* all such, among them, as *were* not written, which did not come into the thoughts of the sages, departed, on that account, from the midst of the many topics of revelation.

24. Just as it is said that *there* were twenty-one Nasks, there are first, in seven Nasks, the topics of the religion *of* Mazda-worship, in the second seven Nasks are the topics of medical practice, *and* in the third seven Nasks the topics and capabilities of the stars are mentioned.



# NASK-FRAGMENTS

THAT ARE

STILL EXTANT.



## EXTANT FRAGMENTS<sup>1</sup>.

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### I. SŪDKAR NASK<sup>2</sup>.

Dk. IX, Chap. II, 3-15, referring to the useful effect of reciting the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as a spell, on various occasions, is quoted in Sls. XIX, 1-14, and also in the Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah<sup>3</sup>, with some slight variations.

Dk. IX, Chap. VI, 2, refers to the passage thus mentioned in Sls. IX, 2, 3:—‘The priest who passes away in an out-district (*aûzdehîkîh*) thou hast considered as desolate (*vîrân*) ; and there is a high-priest who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *it is as* a non-Irânian (*anâîrân*) country. *It is* declared that, when a supreme high-priest (*zaratûstrotûm*) passes away in an out-district, an apostate will be born in that dwelling, and this calamity is only (*aêvâk*) mentioned as to the supreme high-priest<sup>4</sup>.’

Dk. IX, Chap. VIII, 1-6, refers to Zaratûst’s

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<sup>1</sup> Only the Pahlavi versions of these fragments are extant, unless it be otherwise stated.

<sup>2</sup> The detailed account of this Nask, in Dk. IX, contains about 5,400 Pahlavi words, and, if these represent the same proportion of original text as those in the accounts of the first three fargards of the Bakô Nask do, they would indicate about 4,700 words of Avesta text and 10,500 of Pahlavi version as the original extent of this Nask.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 418, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> This translation has been corrected in accordance with p. 178, n. 2.

prophetic vision of the golden, silver, steel, and mingled-iron periods of his millennium, quoted at length in Byt. I, 1-5, with variations indicative of the date of the Bahman Yast being later than that of this Nask.

Dk. IX, Chap. X, 3, refers to the detailed account of the seven most heinous evil-doers, quoted in Dd. LXXII, 3-9.

Dk. IX, Chap. XV, refers to the supplication of the soul of Keresâsp for admittance into heaven, on account of his heroic deeds, quoted at length in the Dâdistân Pahlavi Rivâyat and the Persian Sad-dar-band-i Hûsh (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 373-381).

Dk. IX, Chap. XVIII, 2, refers to the passage thus quoted in Sls. X, 8 :—‘For in the Stûdgar it is said, concerning those who *have* unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that *each* hair of those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (têkh), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain.’

No allusion has been noticed in Dk. IX to another passage which is thus quoted in Sls. XII, 32 :—‘In the Stûdgar it says thus; “What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?” And Aûharmazd spoke thus: “Hungry living, O Zaratûst! moreover, the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavair, O Zaratûst! and the Ashem (aharâyîh).”’

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## II. VARSTMÂNSAR NASK<sup>1</sup>.

No quotation from this Nask has yet been noticed.

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<sup>1</sup> The detailed account of this Nask, in Dk. IX, contains about

III. BAKÖ NASK<sup>1</sup>.

Dk. IX, Chaps. XLVII—XLIX, describe the contents of the first three fargards of this Nask, which are still extant in the Avesta text of Yas. XIX—XXI, whose Pahlavi version may be translated as follows:—

Pahl. Yas. XIX = Bakö I.

The beginning of the Ahunavair of the Bakān<sup>2</sup>.

i. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: ‘O Aûharmazd,<sup>3</sup> propitious spirit, creator of the world of embodied existences, *and* righteous<sup>4</sup>! (2) which were those words, O Aûharmazd! that *were* spoken by thee for me, (3) before the sky, before the water, before the earth, before the (well-yielding) cattle, before the plants, before the fire which is Aûhar-

9,600 Pahlavi words, and, if these represent the same proportion of original text as those in the accounts of the first three fargards of the Bakö Nask do, they would indicate about 8,300 words of Avesta text and 18,500 of Pahlavi version as the original extent of this Nask.

<sup>1</sup> As the detailed account of the first three fargards of this Nask, in Dk. IX, contains about 840 Pahlavi words, and represents about 730 words of the original Avesta text in Yas. XIX—XXI, with 1630 in its Pahlavi version, it may be assumed that the detailed account of the whole Nask, extending to nearly 11,000 words, indicates about 9,500 words of Avesta text and 21,200 of Pahlavi version as the total extent of this Nask.

<sup>2</sup> The heading of this first hâ is given in J<sub>2</sub>, Pt4, Mf4 which have been consulted by the translator in addition to Spiegel's text representing K<sub>5</sub>. The division into sections is that adopted by Spiegel, and the passages in parentheses have no equivalents in the Avesta text.

<sup>3</sup> Sp., J<sub>2</sub> insert ‘good *and*’.

<sup>4</sup> J<sub>2</sub> adds ‘(this is, Aûharmazd the creator is righteous; the rest is through the praise which says the creator is righteous);’ compare Pahl. Vend. II, 1.

mazd's son, before the righteous man (Gâyômard), before the demons, (who remain) noxious creatures<sup>1</sup>, and mankind, before all embodied existence (the creation of sovereignty), *and* before all the excellence created by Aûharmazd, (which is owing to) the manifestation of righteousness?

4. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'They were the apportionment of the Ahunavair, *O Spîtâmân Zaratûst!* (that spirit who would make the religion current, who has formed that religion from the Ahunavair) which was spoken out by me for thee; (5) (that is,) before the sky, (*&c.*, as in § 3).

6. 'Whoever chants that apportionment of the Ahunavair, *O Spîtâmân Zaratûst!* without talking (that is, he does not speak out in the middle of any of its difficult Avesta<sup>2</sup>) *and* not without anxiety (that he may slumber), (7) *it is* like a hundred above any other authority of those of the Gâthas, when one chants *them* without talking, *or* not without anxiety<sup>3</sup>; (thus it becomes *fit* for the ceremonial). 8. Whoever chants *it* while talking, *or* without anxiety, (thus it becomes *fit* for the ceremonial,) *it is* like ten above any other authority of those of the Gâthas.

9. 'Whoever in that embodied existence of mine, *O Spîtâmân Zaratûst!* recalls the apportionment of

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that the *khrafstarð*, or *khrafôstarð*, of Pt<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>4</sub>, stands for *khrafstarân*, as required by the Avesta text. Sp., J<sub>2</sub> have 'who were confounded by wisdom.'

<sup>2</sup> So in Pt<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>4</sub>; but Sp., J<sub>2</sub> may mean 'he strictly does not speak out in the middle of its Avesta.'

<sup>3</sup> All the MSS. have 'while talking, *or* without anxiety,' as in § 8; but this does not correspond with the Avesta text. The repetition of the parenthetical clause, about the ceremonial, which also occurs in § 8, is likewise suspicious.

the Ahunavair, (that is, seeks for *it*,) and, further, mutters that which he recalls, (that is, shall accomplish *it* easily,) and, further, chants that which he mutters, (that is, fully understands its ritual,) and, further, reverences that which is chanted, (that is, shall celebrate the ceremony,) (10) his soul I pass on to the best existence, three times over the *Kinva'd* bridge, I who am Aûharmazd, (that is, on that day *in* which he shall faithfully<sup>1</sup> provide the ceremony, it shall<sup>2</sup> lead his soul three times unto *the world* yonder, and shall<sup>2</sup> cause its happiness therein,) (11) to the best existence, the best righteousness, and the best light. 12. Also whoever in that embodied existence of mine, *O Spîtâmân Zaratûst!* mutters the apportionment of the Ahunavair, (that is, shall accomplish *it* easily,) *and* drops<sup>3</sup>, (that is, cuts off<sup>4</sup>,) (13) either<sup>5</sup> as much as a half, or as much as a third, or as much as a fourth, or as much as a fifth, (at a fifth the foundation *of the sin* is laid, at a half it becomes quite complete, and when he shall cut off the whole *it is* a *Tanâpûhar*<sup>6</sup> *sin*,) (14) I twirl<sup>7</sup> away the soul of him, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence, (that is, I would put it out;) (15) to such an extent and width is the twirling away as *that of* this earth, *and* even so the extent of this earth is as much as its width.'

16. This saying is proclaimed (a revelation) pos-

<sup>1</sup> Pt4, Mf<sub>4</sub> vâvar; Sp., J<sub>2</sub> have va-aêvar, 'and certainly.'

<sup>2</sup> So in Pt4, Mf<sub>4</sub>; Sp., J<sub>2</sub> have 'I would,' which may be right.

<sup>3</sup> Pt4, Mf<sub>4</sub> aparôdînêd; Sp., J<sub>2</sub> have barâ âpahlûkînêd, 'puts quite aside.'

<sup>4</sup> Pahl. barâ yangêd (Pers. yangad).

<sup>5</sup> Only in J<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 65.

<sup>7</sup> Pahl. tanôm (Pers. tanam).

sessing an Ahu *and* possessing a Ratu, (from which this is manifest, namely, the possession of a ruler and high-priest. 17. This, too, is said, that *it was*) before that sky *was* created, before the water, before the earth, before the plants, (18) before the creation of the four-legged ox (which *was* the sole-created ox), (19) before the creation of the two-legged righteous man (who *was* Gâyômard), (20) *and* before that sun of definite form (the body of the sun) *was* created as an acquirement of the archangels. 21. It *was* (likewise) proclaimed to me by the spirituality of propitiousness, (it likewise became possible for the spirituality of propitiousness to say (22) *what was* said<sup>1</sup> to Zarathûst,) concerning the whole material *existence* of the righteous who are, who have been, and who *will* arise, (23) as to the progress of work, (that is, while they shall perform for it that which is specified by it, and good works shall arise through them,) *that* this work, among the living, is for Aûharmazd, (that is, that which they may perform, suitable for Aûharmazd, they shall so perform as is declared by this fargard).

24. This, too, is the most expressive (most in effect) of those statements which *were* ever spoken forth (till now), *or which one* speaks forth (at present)<sup>2</sup>, *or shall* speak forth<sup>3</sup> (even henceforth); (25) for it is *through* such a statement (such in effect) as that, *if* the whole embodied existence (26) learnt it *and*, having learnt<sup>4</sup>, (that is, they shall accomplish *it* easily,) they retain *it*, (that is, they

<sup>1</sup> J2 omits gûftô, 'what was said.'

<sup>2</sup> Pahl. avô kevan in Pt4.

<sup>3</sup> 'Or is spoken forth' in Pt4, Mf4.

<sup>4</sup> 'Have learnt that which they should have learnt' in Pt4, Mf4.

should rely upon it,) abstinence from passing *away* would be quite masterful, (that is, they become immortal). 27. This, too, is our saying spoken forth, (preserved<sup>1</sup> among the revelation mentioned in this<sup>2</sup> fargard,) which is learnt, (that is, they shall accomplish *it* easily,) and *one* recites, (that is, he utters it in a ceremonial,) thus for any one whatever of the beings whose righteousness is best, (that is, should he do it for a ceremonial, he becomes *fit* for it; it is when he utters this in a ceremonial that his soul becomes immortal).

28. As *it is* here spoken forth, (that a ruler and high-priest are to be maintained; as these things are so spoken, *and* as this law is so,) (29) even when it gives him an Ahu and a Ratu, (that is, it gives up *his* person to the priestly assembly,) so it is thereby taught to him that the thought of Aûharmazd is the creature with the first thinking, (that is, the Gâthic lore is set going by him;) (30) whatever teaches<sup>3</sup> this (is the person of him who is king of kings, who) is the greatest (of men) of every description<sup>4</sup>, (that is, it possesses<sup>3</sup> a person in the king of kings;) and so it is taught that the creatures<sup>5</sup> are for him, (where the Gâthic lore is set going by him).

31. Whatever is a good emanation for<sup>3</sup> Aûharmazd, (that is, has an origin in his personality,) is through the word vangheus, (which in the division becomes the beginning of) the third assertion here, whose recital is 'he gives through Vohûman,' (that is, the recitation which he utters properly is accomplished by him,) and, besides, here is that which

<sup>1</sup> J<sub>2</sub> has 'given.'

<sup>2</sup> Pt<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>4</sub> insert 'very.'

<sup>3</sup> So in J<sub>2</sub>, Pt<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> Pt<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>4</sub>, 'the greatest of all men.'

<sup>5</sup> See p. 458, n. 3.

Vohūman has taught, (that is, the reward and recompense which they give Vohūman, they attribute also to him;) (32) whatever<sup>1</sup> is a further indication by Vohūman, (that is, anything which he may accomplish<sup>1</sup> properly as a token, and is performed by him,) became so through this summing up (that is, its end occurred) in *s̄hyaothananām*; (33) here among the existences was the summing up<sup>2</sup>, (that is, it was its end).

34. What it teaches to the creatures<sup>3</sup> of him who is Aūharmazd, is thus: he *who is* like him is he who is his own creature<sup>3</sup>, (that is, even these people it tells something so, *and* thus<sup>1</sup> they attain again, through purity, to the possession of Aūharmazd, just as Aūharmazd produced *them* through purity).

35. By 'the dominion is for Aūharmazd' it has taught, that he has made Aūharmazd his ruler<sup>4</sup>, over his own person, (who shall perform that which is revealed by the Avesta;) and this is taught, *that* through him is the ministration of the poor, (that is, happiness is thereby caused by him,) (36) which is friendship *for* the Spītāmān; (and the religion of the Spītāmān became) *these* five assertions, (that is, the decrees in it were five,) (37) *which* were the

<sup>1</sup> So in J<sub>2</sub>, Pt<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Sp., J<sub>2</sub> add 'of the sacred beings.'

<sup>3</sup> Only here, and in § 30, dāhm, 'a member of the community,' is substituted for the usual dām, 'a creature.' Either meaning might suit the context, but the Avesta text clearly has 'creature,' and would require more alteration, to suit it to the Pahlavi version, than *vice versa*. Dk. IX, Chap. XLVII, affords no assistance, as it does not allude to this passage.

<sup>4</sup> The Pahlavi version of the Av. *tad mazdā tavā khshathrem* quoted in Dk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 17.

whole enunciation of the saying, *and* the whole saying was that of Aûharmazd<sup>1</sup>.

38. For the sake of development Aûharmazd, (for cherishing the creatures,) pronounced the Ahuna-vair, and in its development *there* was a summing up, (that is, its end occurred). 39. Quickly, when<sup>2</sup> destruction arose, (that is<sup>3</sup>, the destroyer,) *and* rushed in, even among the wicked he uttered (*as* resistance) (40) this interdict:—(41) ‘Neither our thoughts, nor<sup>3</sup> teachings, (*as* I have not taught that which thou hast taught,) nor wisdoms, (for I consider wisdom as virtuousness, and thou considerest *it* as viciousness,) (42) nor wills, (for my will is a virtuous wish, and thine a vicious *one*,) nor words, (for I speak that which is virtuous, and thou speakest that which is vicious,) nor actions, (for my actions are virtuous, and thine are vicious,) (43) nor religions, (for my religion is the Gâthic lore, and thine is witchcraft,) nor souls are themselves in unison, (for *as to* those who rely upon my things, and those who rely upon thy things, their souls are not in one place;’ he who said this, that even their souls exist, must thus say that *they are* not souls in unison *with* ours).

44. Also this saying, which Aûharmazd uttered, *has* the three degrees, the four classes, (priest, warrior, husbandman, and artisan,) the five chieftainships, (house-ruler, village-ruler, tribe-ruler, province-ruler,

<sup>1</sup> As the Pahlavi text of the foregoing interpretation is a commentary upon an Avesta commentary on an obscure Avesta text, it must be expected to be difficult to translate with certainty.

<sup>2</sup> Pt4, Mf4 omit ‘when;’ but the speaker of the interdict is Aûharmazd in Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 2 c-e.

<sup>3</sup> So in J2, Pt4, Mf4.

and supreme Zaratûst,) and its summing up is with liberality, (thus it is possible to make *it* completely for their own, when they deliver themselves up to the priests). 45. Which are the degrees of it? Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; (they are<sup>1</sup>, indeed, virtuous among the degrees of religion). 46. Which are the classes? The priest, warrior, husbandman, and artisan, (47) who are the whole day *and* night with a righteous man, who are thinking rightly, speaking rightly, and acting rightly, (48) who *have* recognised a priestly authority, (that is, possess a high-priest,) who *have* taught the religion, (that is, have provided a ceremony,) (49) *and* who, through their actions, are a furtherance of the world of righteousness, (owing to the work they accomplish). 50. Which are the chiefs? The house-ruler, village-ruler, tribe-ruler, province-ruler, and the Zaratûst is the fifth (51) *in* those provinces which are other than the Ragha<sup>2</sup> of Zaratûst; *with* four chieftainships is the Ragha of Zaratûst. 52. Which are the chiefs of that? The house-ruler, village-ruler, tribe-ruler, and the Zaratûst is the fourth; (that is, when he was in his own province, he also produced its period of *prosperity*, who arises fourth).

53. How *was it* when through good thought, (that is, the religion remained in the degree of good thought)? When it arose first in a righteous thinker, (it arose in Gâyômard, and he thought for it). 54. How, when through good words? When *it was* the bounteous text, (doing good). 55. How,

<sup>1</sup> J<sub>2</sub>, Pt<sub>4</sub>, Mf<sub>4</sub> indicate hōmant (=aft).

<sup>2</sup> The ancient city of Raf which stood not far from Teherân.

when through good deeds? When *it was* the praise even of righteousness *by* the first creature, (that is, they shall perform the ceremonial, and also other good works, through the Gâtha lore).

56. Aûharmazd proclaimed; for what *was it* proclaimed by him? For the righteous spiritual and worldly *existence*, (*for the benefit of the spiritual and worldly existence*). 57. Owing to what desire (owing to what necessity) *was* the said announcement proclaimed<sup>1</sup> by him? (So that he shall become) the privileged developer, (he who is a resolute ruler). 58. For how many righteous (is it requisite to utter *it*)? (So that *one may* become) a developer, (even he who may be) an irresolute ruler<sup>2</sup>, (to whom they reveal these words. So that the glory of the Kayâns, such as *it is* with good rulers, should be even so with evil rulers; with good rulers for this purpose, that so they shall produce more benefit; and with evil rulers for this purpose, that so they shall produce less harm)<sup>3</sup>.

### Pahl. Yas. XX = Bakô II.

The beginning of the second subdivision<sup>4</sup>.

1. It was a proclamation of Aûharmazd, the Ashem vohû vahistem astî<sup>5</sup>; besides perfect excellence is taught by it to him, (that is, benefit is

<sup>1</sup> Pt4, Mf4 have *fr̥dž gūftō*, as in Pahl. Yas. XX, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Dk. IX, Chap. LXIX, 45.

<sup>3</sup> §§ 56–58 are repeated at the end of Pahl. Yas. XX, with reference to the Ashem.

<sup>4</sup> So in Pt4, Mf4.

<sup>5</sup> This Avesta is quoted as part of the Pahlavi version, and is translated, in Pt4, Mf4, by the usual Pahlavi for 'righteousness is perfect excellence.'

produced by it for him,) who shall make self-progress his own, (that is, shall produce that which is necessary to produce,) through *vohū vahistem astī*<sup>1</sup>, thus become the summing up of the assertion, (that is, it became its end). 2. *Ustā astī, ustā ahmāi*<sup>2</sup> has, besides, taught the righteous of every kind the happy progress which is necessary to arise for the righteous of every kind, (so that<sup>3</sup> happiness *may* be caused thereby); whatever endurance of man (*or* diligence) it is necessary for the righteous of every kind to occasion is, besides, taught to the righteous of<sup>4</sup> every kind, (so that one's happiness *may* be caused thereby). 3. *Hyad ashāi vahistāi ashem*<sup>5</sup> has, besides, taught *that* all (the duty and good works which are revealed in the text are the whole text (for him whose Avesta and Zand are easy, so that, through *its* Avesta and Zand, he can make manifest all the duty and good works of that whole text,) (4) which teaches<sup>6</sup> *that* the dominion is for righteousness<sup>6</sup>, (so that, *one* may exercise authority through virtuousness, that is, it should be the opinion that it teaches a dominion through virtuousness, so that *one may* possess authority through virtuousness;) (5) which also teaches the truth to that righteous invoker, (so that he may make a true decision;) (6) *and* which also teaches the truth to you that are

<sup>1</sup> So in Pt4, Mf4; J2 has 'through one *vohū vahistem*; *and* *vahistem astī*'.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase of the Ashem, which begins the Avesta of this section, must also be understood as beginning its Pahlavi version.

<sup>3</sup> Only Sp. adds 'one's' here.

<sup>4</sup> Only Sp. has 'the righteous of,' but it is in the Avesta text.

<sup>5</sup> So in Pt4, Mf4.

<sup>6</sup> Just as the Ahunavair states that 'the dominion is for *Aūhar-mazd'* (see Pahl. Yas. XIX, 35).

fraught with advantage, (so that it may produce true judgment). *These* were the three assertions, (that is, three decrees were in it,) (7) *and* the whole saying was a proclamation, the whole saying was that of Aûharmazd.

8. Aûharmazd proclaimed; (*&c., as in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 56-58.*)

Pahl. Yas. XXI = Bakô III.

The beginning of the third subdivision<sup>1</sup>.

1. A saying of the righteous Zaratûst, to be reverenced, was: 'Whoever of those existing is thus in worship as regards *the good*<sup>2</sup>.' Here what is taught by it is the worship of Aûharmazd, (that *it is* that which *one* should provide for,) which is the law of Aûharmazd, (that is, his virtuous law,) whereby the reverence *of* existence is taught, (that is, that which he would most occasion, which is the ever-asking for progeny *by* mankind; and he mentions that thing to them,) *through* which *it* is possible for them to live well. 2. Here, besides, the reverence of those males *and* females of the righteous, through complete devotion<sup>3</sup> who *was* the first, is taught by it, (3) which is the obeisance *for* the archangels, (that is, it would occasion the propitiation of the archangels). *These* were the three assertions, (that is, three decrees were in it,) *and* it was *in* every way a saying to be reverenced. Unto whom was the reverence? *Unto* the archangels in that worship.

4. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Happy is he

<sup>1</sup> So in Pt4, Mf4.

<sup>2</sup> The beginning of the Yênhê-hâtâm (see Dk. IX, Chap. IV, 1 n.).

<sup>3</sup> The archangel Ârmaiti, or Spandarmad.

whose happiness is the happiness of any one whatever, (5) and *may* Aþharmazd grant it, through predominance of will, (through his requirement)<sup>1</sup>.' 6. What reply did he speak through that utterance of words, (what *was* the thing he spoke about<sup>2</sup>)? 7. He spoke the reply of happy progress, the happy progress of the righteous of every kind, who are, who have been, and who *will* arise. 8. The developer told (that man, as) the development, *in* reply; *and* (the reward as) the development that Aþharmazd mentioned *in* reply *was*: 'That development<sup>3</sup> (I call) righteous, (which) is a development for the righteous.'

Dk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 11, refers to Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12-15, which is thus quoted in Sl. X, 26, in a shorter and altered form:—'As it says in the Bak thus: "Whoever shall mutter, *O Zaratûst!* my apportionment of the Ahunavair, (that is, shall softly take *it inwardly*,) *and* shall let *it escape*<sup>4</sup> again, (that is, shall utter *it aloud*,) so much as a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth, his soul will I shield<sup>5</sup>, I who am Aþharmazd, from the best existence, (that is, I *will keep it away*,) by such an extent as the width of this earth."

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a, b.

<sup>2</sup> Pt4, Mf4 have madam in place of maman.

<sup>3</sup> So in Pt4, Mf4.

<sup>4</sup> Pahl. rahôînêd, or rânînêd, 'reject.' It is the alteration in this verb that changes the meaning of the original text; as the preceding and following verbs, vakhdûnêd and gôyêd, do not differ in Pahlavi writing from the vadîdûnêd and yangêd of Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Pahl. netrûnam.

IV. DÂMDÂD NASK<sup>1</sup>.

From the very short account of this Nask, given in Dk. VIII, Chap. V, it appears that its contents were very similar to those of the original Bundahis, so far as we find them in the imperfect Indian Bd. I-XXX. And this connection between the two works is further testified by Zs. IX, 1, 16-23, which attributes to the Dâmdâd many statements, regarding plants and animals, which are detailed in Bd. XIV, 1, 2, 14-18, 21-24.

Owing to the brief character of the account in Dk. VIII, Chap. V, it is impossible to trace any allusion to two passages quoted from the Dâmdâd as follows:—

In Sls. X, 22, XII, 15, it is said that 'in the Dâmdâd it is revealed thus: "Likewise, too, the good works, *in like measure (or manner)*, which come into the father's possession (*or to the father as his own*)."'

In Sls. XII, 5, it is said that 'in the Dâmdâd it is revealed that when they sever the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out to the moon, and then out to the sun;

<sup>1</sup> The very short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 75 Pahlavi words, and, if these represent the same proportion of original text as those in the very short accounts of Nasks I, II, III, XXI in the same book, they would indicate about 8,900 words of Avesta text. But, as this is a Hadha-mâthric Nask, the proportion of its Pahlavi text is best ascertained from that of Nask X, belonging to the same division, which indicates about 29,300 words for the Pahlavi version. The actual original extent of the Irânian Bundahis (which may be considered as a descendant of the Dâmdâd) appears to have been about 28,000 Pahlavi words.

and it is needful that the nearest fire, that to which it has come out, *should* become stronger.'

### V. NÂDAR NASK<sup>1</sup>.

No quotation from this Nask has yet been noticed.

### VI. PÂGAG NASK<sup>2</sup>.

Dk. VIII, Chap. VII, 4, or 5, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. IX, 9, 10:—‘In a passage of the fifth fargard of the Pâgôñ it is declared that one mentions these characteristics of four kinds of worship of the sacred beings:—one is that whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man is bad; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man is good; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man is good; *and* the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man is bad. *That* whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to,

<sup>1</sup> As there is no account of this Nask in Dk. VIII, we can only guess that its extent was about the average length of the other Hadha-mâthric Nasks, or about 6,800 words of Avesta text and 22,200 of Pahlavi version.

<sup>2</sup> The account of this Nask in Dk. VIII (like those of Nasks VIII, XII, XIII, XX), though four or five times as long as the very short accounts, is still short, and the data for estimating the original extent of these five Nasks are very inadequate. We may, perhaps, guess that the two Nasks VI, VIII were together equal to half the length of the four other Hadha-mâthric Nasks IV, VII, IX, X, and then proceed to apportion the extent, thus guessed, between the two in proportion to the number of Pahlavi words in the short account of each. In this way we shall find that the 505 Pahlavi words in the short account of the Pâgag may indicate about 9,100 words of Avesta text and 29,800 of Pahlavi version.

*but do not accept; that whose Avesta is faulty, but the man good, the archangels and sacred being will approach, but do not listen to, and will accept; that whose Avesta is correct, and the man good, the archangels and sacred being will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept; and that whose Avesta is faulty, and the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.'*

### VII. RADÖ-DÂD-AÎTAG NASK<sup>1</sup>.

Dk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 4, probably refers to the passage containing the statement thus mentioned in Sls. X, 29:—‘In the Radö-dâd-aîtih many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of the unhelpful ones (avigîdâr-dahîsnânö)<sup>2</sup> in the spiritual existence.’

### VIII, IX. BARIS<sup>3</sup> AND KASKÎSRÔBÔ<sup>4</sup> NASKS.

No quotation from these Nasks has yet been noticed.

<sup>1</sup> The very short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 88 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask IV) at about 10,500 Avesta and 34,300 Pahlavi words.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise read hangîdâr-dahîsnânö, ‘producers of irritation,’ in S. B. E., vol. v, p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 248 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be guessed (in the same way as in the case of Nask VI) at about 4,400 Avesta and 14,600 Pahlavi words.

<sup>4</sup> The very short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 46 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask IV) at about 5,500 Avesta and 17,900 Pahlavi words.

### X. VISTÂSP-SÂSTÔ NASK<sup>1</sup>.

The first half of this Nask (as described in Dk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1, 2) appears to be still extant in the *Vistâsp Yast*, 1-44; but the remainder of that *Yast* does not correspond with the description of the latter half of the Nask.

### XI. VASTAG NASK<sup>2</sup>.

No quotation from this Nask has yet been noticed.

### XII. KITRADÂD NASK<sup>3</sup>.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 10, probably refers to the passage that contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 28:—‘Even so it is revealed in the *Kitradâd* that Spendarmâd spoke to Mânûs'êhar thus: “Even the swiftest horse requires the whip, the sharpest

<sup>1</sup> As half this Nask consists of the *Vistâsp Yt.* 1-44, which contains about 1,100 Avesta and 3,600 Pahlavi words, the contents of the whole Nask may be estimated at about 2,200 Avesta and 7,200 Pahlavi words.

<sup>2</sup> As there is no account of this Nask in Dk. VIII, we can only guess that its extent was about the average length of the other Gâthic Nasks, or about 8,900 words of Avesta text and 18,400 of Pahlavi version.

<sup>3</sup> The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 396 Pahlavi words, which may be guessed to represent the same proportion of Pahlavi version as in Nasks VI, VIII, the accounts of which are also short. And, as this is a Legal Nask, it may be assumed that the proportion of Avesta text to Pahlavi version would be the same as in the other Legal Nasks, which is the proportion still extant in the *Nîrangistân* section of Nask XVII. Based upon these assumptions, the probable extent of the *Kitradâd* would be about 2,600 words of Avesta text and 23,400 of Pahlavi version.

steel knife requires the whetstone, and the wisest man requires counsel.”

### XIII. SPEND NASK<sup>1</sup>.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 1, probably refers to the passage that contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 4, XII, 11 :—‘*It is* revealed in the Spend that towards Dúkdáv, the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, every night *for* three nights a leader with a hundred and fifty demons rushed (*or came*) for the destruction of Zaratûst, yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means of accomplishing *it*.’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 8, probably refers to the passage that contained the statement alluded to in AV. XXXII and thus quoted in Sls. XII, 29 :—‘As in the Spend *it was* shown to Zaratûst about one man, that all *his* limbs were in torment, *but* one foot was outside; *and* Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd about the cause *of it*; and Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns<sup>2</sup> *by name*; he was a ruler over thirty-three districts, and no good work *was* ever practised by him, except one time when fodder *was* conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.’

<sup>1</sup> The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 347 Pahlavi words, which would represent about 20,500 words of Pahlavi version, according to the proportion guessed in the case of Nask XII. But, this being a Gâthic Nask, the proportion of Avesta to Pahlavi ought to be that calculated for the Gâthic Nasks I, II, III, XXI, which would give about 9,900 words of Avesta text for this Nask. The seventh book of the Dînkard, whose contents are very similar to those attributed to the Spend Nask, contains about 16,000 Pahlavi words.

<sup>2</sup> A personification of the Av. *davâs* of Yas. XXXI, 10 c.

No allusion to the following two passages, quoted from the Spend, has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV :—

In Sls. XII, 3, it is said that ‘in the Spend *it* is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, *has* as much comfort as a man whose clothing they shall make clean.’

In Sls. XII, 15, it is said that ‘in the Spend and Nihâdûm the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs become as much the father’s as though they had been done by his own hand.’

#### XIV. BAKÂN-YAST NASK<sup>1</sup>.

No allusion to the following three passages, quoted from this Nask, could be expected in the very short account of it, given in Dk. VIII, Chap. XV; and they can hardly be traced, with any certainty, in the Avesta texts of the Yasts themselves :—

It is just possible that a commentary on Yt. I, 17 may have contained the Av.-Pahl. passage thus quoted in Vig.<sup>2</sup> pp. 160, 161 :—‘By the Avesta of

<sup>1</sup> The account of this Nask in Dk. VIII, though very short, is a fair description of the extant Yasts I-XX, and their general character is also indicated by the name of the Nask, which means ‘the worship of the divinities.’ The extent of these Yasts may be estimated at about 22,000 words of Avesta text, and, from the Pahlavi versions of the few Yasts that still possess one, it may be calculated that about 44,000 words of Pahlavi version would have been required for the whole collection.

<sup>2</sup> Vigirkard-i Dînik, ed. Peshotan, Bombay, 1848; printed in Pahlavi type from a copy, transcribed in 1754, from an Irânian MS. written in 1240, which the transcriber found in the Modî library at Surat. The Avesta quotations are here transliterated without any attempt at amendment.

the Baghân-yast *it* is declared : *Yad* aêtê yô mazda-yasnô aperenâyûkô avi hê hapta saredha fragasâiti, stehr-paësanghô aiwyæunghânô paitis hê maidhyâi bûgyamanô, avi hê nara paskaiti nemanghenti : Whoever of those Mazda-worshippers is a child who attains unto the age of seven years, *and* ties the *thread-girdle* on his waist, upon that man there is thenceforth the maintenance of the obeisances.'

A Pahlavi commentary on Yt. VI, 2 may have formerly contained the passage thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 17 :—'As in the Bâg-yasnô notice is given about the uncleanness of well-water at night.'

Perhaps one of the five Yasts, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XVIII, respectively dedicated to Srôsh, Rashnû, the guardian spirits, the good Vâê, and Âstâd—the sacred beings specially propitiated by the ceremonies after a death—may have included a commentary containing the passage thus quoted in Vig. pp. 157-158, about the necessity of appointing some one to provide such ceremonies for a man who dies without a son, and to administer his estate :—'By the Avesta of the Bagân-yast *it* is declared : Yêzi narô pankadasanghô saredhô irîraithyâd avi hê urvânem bûgyânem thrâyô ayara uzayarana rathwô hangamanem fragasôid, âad hê aputhra anghad puthra fradadhâiti yathaka nara irista vispanâm avaretanâm shaêtavaitanâm avi hê frazaintim fragasôid, paskaiti nemanguhai ti baoidhyêitaka urvâsnayau.'

#### XV. NÎKÂDÛM NASK<sup>1</sup>.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XVIII, 3, refers to the passage which, no doubt, contained the statement thus quoted

<sup>1</sup> The very long account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains

in Farh. Oîm, pp. 6, l. 11-7, l. 13 :—‘ Aêdha is the skin of the head, and there is *part* of it which is large and *part* which is small, as it says in the Nihâdûm :—“Kaya henti masyanghô aêdha, which are those *parts with the larger skin?* Yô aparaya paiti mastraghnaya, whatever is behind the skull; (*Afarg*<sup>1</sup> said, from the ear backwards). Kaya kasyanghô, *which are those with the smaller?* Yô paouruya paiti mastraghnaya, whatever is before the *skull*<sup>2</sup>. Vaghidianem is the head, and one says nars vaghidianem, &c., this is: Sinful are they who penetrate (sûmbênd) a man’s head, astem aêvô mastravanäm, or one bone of the skull; vispaka yô mastraghnäm amästa, all those are to be smitten who have penetrated into the skull, and to be given up as outcast<sup>3</sup>; hvarô-kithanäm<sup>4</sup> aêteê anyê kikayatô, the penalties of a Khôr<sup>5</sup> sin chastise those who hurt other *parts*, (such as the brain which is in the skull of the head, and the marrow of the other members that are to be mentioned, just as it mentions this:—Sinful are they who strike through the bone, or flesh, or marrow of a leg, and every one of those is to be smitten who strikes

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4,876 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask XVII) at about 62,600 Avesta and 562,900 Pahlavi words.

<sup>1</sup> One of the old commentators whose statements are frequently quoted in the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta. The reading of his name and the age in which he lived are alike uncertain, but he appears to have been one of the earliest commentators whose opinions now survive.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the quotation ends at this point; but Dk. VIII, Chap. XVIII, 3, is equally applicable to what follows.

<sup>3</sup> Tanðpûhar, see Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 65.

<sup>4</sup> So in K20.

<sup>5</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXI, 39.

through the bone of one fleshy *part*, and he is to be given up as outcast; while the penalties of a Khôr sin<sup>1</sup> chastise those who *hurt other parts*).”

Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 116, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35:—‘That is, this is the account of the number of years, according to that which is in the Hûspârûm as regards the account of the number; and according to that which is in the Nihâdûm it is the account of the number of men.’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 124, possibly refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sl. X, 3:—‘In the exposition of the Nihâdûm Nask it says that a man is going to commit robbery, and a wall falls in upon him, it is his destroyer; when a man strikes at him he is his adversary, and both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings both are in innocence towards him.’

No allusion to the following six passages, quoted from this Nask, has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chaps. XVI–XX:—

In Sl. X, 22, XII, 15, it is said as in the last fragment of the Spend Nask, already quoted.

In Sl. X, 23, XII, 16, it is said that ‘in the Nihâdûm the high-priests have taught thus:—“A man gives a hungry one bread, and it is too much, yet (or when a man gives bread to a man, even though that man has too much bread) all the good works, which he shall perform through that super-

<sup>1</sup> MH6 has va-aêvak kerp after mazg, and both K20 and MH6 have valman barâ yehabûnisn; khôr tôgisnîhâ after tanâpûhar.

abundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.””

In Pahl. Vend. V, 73, it is said ‘like unto this earth and that (sky) which would also cover over *it* (ever in all *places*; there is *some one* who says this is as to dead matter, that in the Nihâdûm *says it is* as to decision and judgment, and that in the Hûspârûm *says it is* as to the ritual of the ceremonial).’

In Vig. p. 136, it is said that ‘*it is* declared by the Avesta of the Nihâdûm thus:—“Âad yad draonô Vanantô stârô mazdadhatô frâyazyâd, kathwârô draonô frakerententi aiwi-hvarenti, yad aêshô nâ yô yaozdâthryô:—So when he, who is that man who is a purifier, shall consecrate the sacred cake of Vanand<sup>1</sup>, the star produced by Aûharmazd, they cut up and shall eat up four sacred cakes.””

In Vig. pp. 180, 181, it is said that ‘in the Nihâdûm it is stated:—Âad aokhta Ahurô Mazdau: “Yad aêtê yô mazdayasna aêtem srîrem vastrem stehr-paê sanghem hvâm tanûm bâdha paoirîm vanghanemka hadha varanô paitanemka, paskaiti aiwyæunghânô ava hê maidhyânem búgyamanô.” Aêtem zî srîrem vastrem manyutâstem haka manyavanâm dâmanâm avi mê fradadhâd Ahurô Mazdau ashava. “Yatha hê varanô paitanem asti mânayen hvare-khshaêtahê, adhâd hadha hê vastranâm yaozdâthranâm frâyaza vâ nizbaya vâ Ahurâi Mazdâi ameshanâm spentanâm, Spitama Zarathustra!”—Thus spoke Aûharmazd: “When for him, of those who are Mazda-worshippers, *there is* this beneficial, star-spangled (that is, wrought) garment<sup>2</sup>, always (after seven years of age, that is,

<sup>1</sup> The southern leader of the stars, probably Fomalhaut (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1).

<sup>2</sup> The sacred shirt.

after seven years *of age*) first he covers up (that is, clothes) his own body in it, and with (that *he* is properly) a preserver of faith (that is, a preserver of attachment, and) he afterwards ties<sup>1</sup> (that) girdle (over that starry *garment*) at the waist (as a waist-belt)." That, even this well-looking garment, spiritually formed by the creatures of the spirits, is really (that which) the righteous Aûharmazd granted me (who am Zaratûst). "Since it is his preserver of faith, (that is, preserver of attachment), he is like (him who is as) the sun, (a preserver of beneficial faith, an implorer of the splendid heaven, and is *one* who is an accepter *of* the religion); therefore, with that garment, which is purified (that is, pure), do thou worship, or practise invocation, as regards Aûharmazd and as regards the archangels, O Spîtâmân Zaratûst!"'

In Vig. pp. 184, 185, it is said that '*it is* declared by the Avesta of the Nihâdûm *thus* :—Åaad aêtahê pankâ ayara hamaspathermaidhem paiti ratûm spen-tayau ârmatôis mânunghô nôid frasrâvayôid :—So *one* does not chant forth (that is, does not invoke) the month of (the completely mindful) Spendarmad<sup>2</sup> (that is, the Spendarmad month) in the reign of those five Hamaspâdmêdêm days<sup>3</sup>; (for if *one* invokes *it*, owing to forgetfulness, the Avesta is not accepted).'

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the reverse of the meaning of Av. bûgyamanô in Yt. I, 17, but see the first fragment of Nask XIV, quoted in Vig. pp. 160, 161.

<sup>2</sup> The last month of the Parsi year, named after the archangel Spendarmad (see Dk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3).

<sup>3</sup> The five intercalary days that follow the last month, in order to make the twelve months, of thirty days each, correspond with a year of 365 days. They coincide with the Hamaspâdmêdêm season-festival, originally intended to celebrate the vernal equinox.

## XVI. GANABÂ-SAR-NIGAD NASK<sup>1</sup>.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXII, 2, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 13:—‘It is revealed in the Ganabâ-sar-nigâd, where a day in the year is indicated, that the sacred thread-girdle of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years and three months old<sup>2</sup> is to be tied on—it is better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, and then ties on the girdle—who is more cared for, that way, than those of five (or nine) months in the womb of the mother, on whom they should put it.’

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## XVII. HÛSPÂRAM NASK<sup>3</sup>.

A small portion of this Nask is still preserved and known by the name of Nirangistân. The last seven-eighths of this text corresponds with the description of the Nirangistân section of the Hûspâram, given in Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 1–17, although a few folios of its commencement are probably lost. And

<sup>1</sup> The very long account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 2,179 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask XVII) at about 28,000 Avesta and 251,500 Pahlavi words.

<sup>2</sup> So as to include the nine months' existence, before birth, in the prescribed fifteen years.

<sup>3</sup> As the 212 Pahlavi words in Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 1–17, represent about 2,722 words of the original Avesta text of this Nask, with 24,472 of its Pahlavi version, it may be fairly assumed that the 3,496 Pahlavi words of the whole account of the Nask in Chaps. XXVIII–XXXVII, must represent about 44,900 Avesta and 403,600 Pahlavi words of original text. And the same proportion probably holds good with regard to the other Legal Nasks, XV, XVI, XVIII, of which very long accounts are given.

the earlier portion of the text begins with a fragment of a passage; which appears to correspond with part of the description of the Aērpatisṭān section, given in Chap. XXVIII, 1; but also contains passages that are difficult to trace in any part of that description. The Nirangistān portion of this text is divided into three fargards, and Dd. LXVI, 1 mentions 'five fargards of the Avesta of the correct law of the Nirangistān, *which are* easy through the Zand;' so that the missing portion of this section of the Nask, described in Chap. XXIX, 18-25, must have contained two fargards. With regard to the unidentified passages, preceding the Nirangistān portion of the extant text, it may be remarked that they include several of the statements about 'unseasonable chatter' contained in Sls. V, 3-6, where they are differently arranged.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 2, refers to a passage which may have contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 1:—'Of the merit of a threefold consecration of the sacred cake the high-priests *have* specially taught in the Hūspāram that *it is* as much as *that of a lesser form of worship.*'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 8, refers to the passage which probably contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. XII, 31:—'Of the ceremonies which go to the bridge *as sin* it says this in the Hūspāram, that *they are* the non-celebration of the rites of the season-festivals, the Rapitvīn, the three nights *after a death*, *the days of* the guardian spirits, and the sun and moon.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXII, 1, refers to the passage which must have contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XIII, 17:—'The six hot ordeals

which, in the Hūspāram, are effected by *kathrayāim* *āthraiām*<sup>1</sup>.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXIII, 4, refers to the passage which must have contained the statement thus mentioned in Pahl. Vend. XV, 67:—‘What is as to the sick *dog* in the Hūspāram is, “*when* several doors are together, *it is just if* the nourishment *at* each one *be* only *for* three nights, and then, when opulence is manifest, the delivery *be* unto that opulent *one*, and when not, the delivery *be* unto him *who is good*.”’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 2, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 7:—‘In the twentieth<sup>2</sup> of the Hūspāram it is shown *that* over the soul of him who works in the dark *there is* more predominance of the evil spirit.’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVI, 7, or 13, probably refers to the passage thus mentioned in Dd. LXI, 3:—‘Nearer details of the family guardianship which is proper *and* which is not proper for an adopted son’s duty, of the child of the good religion with whose business *it is connected, and* of the fathers for whom a family guardian is to be appointed, are *in* the recital of five fargards<sup>3</sup> of the Hūspāram.’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVI, 8–12, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 21, XII, 14:—‘In the fourteenth<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This corrupt Avesta means probably ‘fourfold fire.’

<sup>2</sup> The first section mentioned of these twenty is that described in Chap. XXXII.

<sup>3</sup> See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

<sup>4</sup> That is, in one of the last fourteen sections of the Nask. If it were not for this number, and the fact that the passage is understood to apply to the children of a concubine, it might be connected with Chap. XXXIV, 4, 5.

of the Hūspāram Nask the high-priests *have taught* thus: "My son is suitable even *as thy son*, *but* my daughter is not suitable even *as thy daughter*."

No allusion has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chaps. XXVIII–XXXVII, to the two passages in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, V, 73, referring to this Nask, which have been already quoted as also referring to Nask XV.

### XVIII. SAKĀDŪM NASK<sup>1</sup>.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 1, 2, refer to passages, one of which may possibly have contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. XII, 2:—'It says in the Sakādūm that no one of them, that is an inattentive man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence, not though his recitation should be so much that it has made his duty *and* good works as much as the verdure of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which is given abundantly by Aūharmazd.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 3, refers to a passage which is thus quoted in Sls. X, 25:—'When an action or an opinion comes forward, and *one* does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible *it* is to be abandoned *and* not carried out by him, as it says in the Sakādūm that Zarātūst *has* not provided about anything whatever as regards everything, but three times *it has been done* by Zarātūst about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta

<sup>1</sup> The very long account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 4,129 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask XVII) at about 53,000 Avesta and 476,600 Pahlavi words.

and Zand, when made quite easy by *any* one, are for recitation, but are not to be mumbled, for, in mumbling, the portions of the Ahunavair are more chattering.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 6, refers to the passage thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 12 :—'Where a child is born, *during* three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until *daylight*, and is to be maintained there by day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth<sup>1</sup> of the Sakâdûm.'

Dk. VIII, Chaps. XXXVIII, 13, XLI, 19, refer to passages which seem both to be partially quoted in Farh. Oîm, p. 38, ll. 4-10, thus :—'The period is eagerly proclaimed in another place, as it says in the Sakâdûm thus :—"Thripithwô zi asti âtars Ahurahê Mazdâu hama, bipithwô aiwi-gâmê, atha narô ashavanô :—For thrice-supplied is the fire of Aûharazmazd in summer<sup>2</sup>, twice in winter; so is the righteous man. (Whoever has become a depriver of food (*atapdâd*) four *times*, which are successive, should be in doubtfulness as to unrestricted (aband) maintenance *vîkithremkid*: without any publicity; as much as *it is* possible to see *being* the original minimum of any other)."'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 33, refers to the passage which contained the statements thus quoted in Ep. I, viii, 1, 7 :—'It is declared in the Sakâdûm, that the consecrated bull's urine, when it becomes

<sup>1</sup> That is, in one of the first thirty sections (see Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Both K20 and MH6 have *amat*, 'though,' instead of *pavan hamîn*. This first sentence corresponds with part of Chap. XLI, 19, and the following sentence with part of Chap. XXXVIII, 13.

fetid, is to be stirred up<sup>1</sup>, *and* they should not carry it forth so to the fire, so that the stench extends to the fire; because, if that stench extends to the fire, on account of the moisture *and* through carrying bodily refuse over and forth to the fire, it overwhelms it. And that which the Sakâdûm *has* declared is, specially, that one of the high-priests *has* individually said: "That stench is mentioned with reference to the *occasion* when a stench reaches it of a different kind *from that* which exists naturally in it."

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLIII, 33, refers to the passage which contained the statements thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 10, XIII, 30:—'In the twenty-two<sup>2</sup> sections of the Sakâdûm grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings unto the sacred beings.' And, again, 'while those nineteen (*stanzas of Yas. XLVI*) are our offering, which it says in the Sakâdûm should be my own, the strength and power of the sacred beings shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.'

### XIX. VENDÎDÂD NASK<sup>3</sup>.

The whole of this Nask (as described in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLIV) is still extant, and is considered by the writers of the Persian Rivâyats to be a complete work. Its fragmentary character, which is obvious enough to European scholars, must, therefore, be

<sup>1</sup> This statement is again mentioned in § 6.

<sup>2</sup> The *last* twenty-two (see Dk. VIII, Chap. XLI, 1).

<sup>3</sup> The extent of this Nask appears to be the same now as it was in Sasanian times, and may be estimated at about 23,000 Avêsta and 48,000 Pahlavi words. The moderately long account of it in Dk. VIII, contains 1,272 Pahlavi words.

attributed, in all probability, to losses it sustained before the revival of Mazda-worship by the Sasanian dynasty. It is remarkable that the compiler of the account in the *Dinkard* makes no allusion to the twelfth fargard of the *Vendidâd*, which is also omitted in all old MSS. of the *Vendidâd* with Pahlavi that have been examined, although the copyists appear to have been aware of the existence of a twelfth fargard.

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## XX. HÂDÔKHT NASK<sup>1</sup>.

It is doubtful how much of this Nask is still extant. Traditionally, the two fragments published by Westergaard as Yt. XXI, XXII (excepting XXII, 37-42), and by Haug as Hn. I, II, III, are said to belong to this Nask; but no allusion to Hn. II, III can be found in the account given in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, and Hn. I can be traced in that account only by assuming that the Ahunavair is therein mentioned (in § 1) instead of its accompanying Ashem-vohû, as it appears to be in Hn. I, 4. In Yt. XI we also appear to have a form of the Srôsh Yast derived from the Hâdôkht Nask, or used in the liturgy when that Nask was recited, and this Yast likewise refers (in § 3) to the Ahunavair in similar terms to those used in Hn. I, 4.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 1, refers to the passage which contained the statement about the Ahunavair already mentioned and also thus quoted in Sls.

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<sup>1</sup> The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 295 Pahlavi words which, according to the proportions adopted in the case of Nask XIII, would represent about 8,400 Avesta and 17,400 Pahlavi words of original text.

XII, 19 :—‘It says in the Hâdôkht that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavair is that *which is* most triumphant.’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 4, refers to the passage which probably contained the statements thus quoted in the Âfrîn-i Gahanbâr, 14–19 (Sp.), concerning the righteous gifts to be given away, for the sake of the soul, at each of the six season-festivals :—‘There is an Avesta witness manifest in the Hâdôkht from the passage (*in the case of the Maidhyô-zaremaya festival*) : “Hazangrem maêshinâm daênumnâm paiti-puthranâm narâm ashaonâm ashaya vanghuya urunê para-daithyâd, aêvahê hâtâm kinmânahê yad ashahê vahistahê.”’ During the other five festivals the gifts, instead of ewes, are to be cows, mares, camels, and all kinds of herds and seeds, respectively, as appears from the corresponding passages. All six passages, mingled with further Avesta text, occur in several MSS. of the Âfrîngân-i Gahanbâr (see the earlier part of each section of Af. Gah. 7–12, ed. Geldner).

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 9, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sd. XL, 4 :—‘In the commentary of the Hâdôkht it says :—“Mâ âzârayôis, Zarathustra! mâ Pourushaspem, mâ Dughdhovâm<sup>1</sup>, mâ aêthrapaitis :—It is not desirable that thou, O Zaratûst! *shouldst* distress *thy* father, *or* mother, *or* priest.”’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 10, may possibly refer to

<sup>1</sup> The orthography of these three Avesta names has been amended in accordance with the Persian version accompanying them, but all the four MSS. consulted have the first two in the genitive, and one MS. uses a masculine genitive form also for the third name.

the passage which contained a statement that is often partially quoted in Pahlavi colophons, and the Avesta text of which constitutes Yas. LXXII, 11 (Gld.); the first part of the statement, with a translation of its Pahlavi version, is here quoted from Mitrô-Āpân's colophon to a volume of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, usually called the Vistâsp-shâhnâmak from the subject of its first text, and written A.D. 1322, in which the writer mentions the source from which he quotes; and the second part is taken from the same writer's colophon to the Yasna MS. K5, written thirteen months later, which is the only known authority for this part of the text:—‘In one passage of the Hâdôkht it is declared that Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst thus:—“Aêvô pantau yô ashahê vispê anyaêshâm apantäm :—one only is the way of righteousness, all those are no ways:—angrahê mainyeus nasistäm<sup>1</sup> daênäm daêvayasananäm parâgitim maskyânäm<sup>2</sup> frâkereitim :—which the evil spirit of the heretical demon-worshippers, the wizard, has forced on to mankind.”’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 13, must refer to the passage which contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XIII, 10:—‘The fifteen stanzas of Yâ-skyaothanâ<sup>3</sup> are for this reason, because it is given for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are declared in the medical part of the Hâdôkht.’

No allusion to the following seven passages, quoted from this Nask, has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV:—

In Sls. XII, 30, it is stated that ‘in the Hâdôkht

<sup>1</sup> Only the first and last letters of this word are clearly legible.

<sup>2</sup> The first syllable is illegible.

<sup>3</sup> Yas. XXXIV.

it says that a woman who shall be reverent is to be considered as much as she who is suitable.'

In Sls. XIII, 6, it is said that 'the twenty-two stanzas of Tâ-ve-urvâtâ<sup>1</sup> are the twenty-two judgments of which it speaks in the Hâdôkht thus: "Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?— Lodging in the judge, that while *he has* twenty-two judgments *he may be* more just."

In Sd. XXII, 3, 4, it is stated that 'in the commentary of the Hâdôkht it says, that every one who performs intercession, and extracts anything from a person on their account, and conveys *it* to them is as much without dishonesty towards them, as he who may have given to them out of his own property. And *in* the spiritual *existence* they take account of that profit for him, and just as they make *out* the account of the good work of that person who may have given *it*, even so much is his good work.'

In Vig. p. 12, it is said, with reference to Aharman, '*that* he is a creature of Aûharmazd is manifest from the Avesta of the Hâdôkht: "Dâta, Ahura spenta! Mazdau."

In Vig. pp. 23–25, it is said that, 'if any one passes away from the bodily existence, as much of his wealth comes to his son, wife, and daughter as is declared by the Avesta of the Hâdôkht<sup>2</sup>:—"Âad yêzi avi hê anguhê astvainti, Spitama Zarathustra!— So if in that bodily existence, O Spîtâmân Zaratûst! —narâm vâ nâirinâm vâ para-irithyâd,—of males or

<sup>1</sup> Yas. XXXI.

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps necessary to repeat that no attempt is made to correct the Avesta orthography, except in the case of a few obvious misprints.

females *one* expires,—*kvad* aêtaêshãm yaunghuyanãm avaretanãm maêthanãmka vastranãm paiti-raêkyâd,—however much of their wealth and things, houses and clothing he abandons (that is, he leaves such in this world)—avatha hê *hvatô* puthrem anghad, aêvô-baghem haka avaretanãm nisrinuyâd; âad yêzi hvãm nãirika bavaiti, aêvô-baghem paiti-nidadhâiti; yêzi dughdhrãm henti, naêmem baghem fragasâd:—in such a case, should there be a son of his, himself, *one* delivers up to him one share of the property; if the wife herself (that is, his privileged wife) exists, *one* gives up to her one share in it; if there are daughters, a half-share comes on to each of them.—  
*Âad* yêzika hê narô irista hva hizva ukhdhem vâkem nazdaska narô danghrem paiti-dyaêti, vispanãm vakãm ukhdhanãmka avi yãm astvaitim gaêthãm harethrem frabarâd;—So also, if that dead man gives over a verbal statement by his own tongue to the nearest wise man (that is, speaks his own will), all his words and statements, when in control of his bodily existence, *one* carries out (that is, *one* shall confer authority on his words);—yêzi nôid harethrem baraiti anâperetha haka shyaothana:—if *one* shall not confer the authority, he becomes an unpardonable sinner (owing to doing this deed; that is, the person who, when there is a will, does not carry it out).—*Avad yad* hê narô irista aputhrai anghad, upa hê puthrem fradadhâd, Spitama Zarathustra! yahmad haka puthrô haom urvânem *Kinvad* peretûm vîdhâryad:—So when that dead man is without a son (that is, there is no son of his), *one* gives forth the share over to the son, O Spitâmân Zaratûst! by whom, as a son (that is, an adopted son), they pass on the man's own soul from that

*Kinva'd bridge (that is, it departs by the passage of the bridge)."*

In Vig. p. 83, it is said that 'hair from an ox or a horse is suitable, as *it* is declared by the Hâdôkht: "Geus vâ aspahê vâ varesa."

In Vig. pp. 144, 145, it is said, with reference to announcing the name of the deceased during the celebration of the Srôsh Yast after a death, that '*it is* declared by the Avesta of the Hâdôkht:— "Yêzi narô mazdayasnô haķa gaēthâbyô para-irithyêiti, âad hê nãma hadha pitô frageurvayâd; yêzi nãirika para-irithyêiti, âad yad hê nãma hadha pathanô uzgeurvayâd, Spîtama Zarathustra! aêtem vâkem nî antare mazdayasanam frasastayâd:— If a man who is a Mazda-worshipper passes away from the worldly *existence*, in such a *case one* holds out his name with *that of* his father; and if *it be* a woman who passes away, in such a *case one* upholds whatever is her name with *that of* her husband, *O Spîtâmân Zaratûst!* *one* shall further bless this statement (that is, *its being* reverenced is important) among the Mazda-worshippers, (do thou proclaim and further bless this statement)."

## XXI. STÔD-YAST NASK<sup>1</sup>.

It has been already shown, in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLVI, 1 n, that the whole of this Nask is probably still extant in the Yasna and Vîspêrad. About half of the present Yasna appears to consist of five-sixths of this Stôd-yast, to which have been added three

<sup>1</sup> The actual extent of those portions of the Yasna and Vîspêrad which appear to have constituted this Nask, may be estimated at about 12,500 Avesta and 22,400 Pahlavi words.

fargards of the Bakō (Nask III), with the Hôm and Srôsh Yasts, extracted probably from the Bakânyast (Nask XIV), and the greater part of the Âtas and Âbân Nyâyises; the whole collection being provided with an introductory and concluding ritual, compiled from other sources, to form the complete ceremonial liturgy of the present Yasna.

There appears to be no sufficient evidence, either internal or external, for ascribing this collection of the liturgy to so late a date as the end of the ninth century, when the compilation of the *Dinkard* was completed. It is therefore safer, for the present, to assume that the *Stôd-yast* existed for a long period as a separate Nask (the form described by the *Dinkard*), even after the greater part of its text had been incorporated with others to form the collected liturgy now known as the Yasna.

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Besides the fragments which are specially attributed to particular Nasks, there are also a few writings which closely resemble the Nasks, or their fragments, in general character, but which can hardly be traced to their actual source by means of the accounts given in the *Dinkard*. Thus, the Aogemadaêkâ might perhaps be supposed to have been extracted from the Baris (see Dk. VIII, Chap. IX, 18), if it did not contain a few Avesta quotations from the Yasna, Vendidâd, and Yasts. While the quotations from the Ashem-staota, given in Vig. pp. 89, 90, 125-129, 177, 178, are difficult to trace, owing to the name of their source.

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## OBSERVATIONS.

The references are to the pages of the introduction and extant fragments, and to the books, chapters, and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers. The letters ch. stand for chapter, com. for commentator, Dk. for *Dînkard*, Dv. for *Dîn-vîrgard*, Fr. for Fragments, Int. for Introduction, lun. man. for lunar mansion, m. for mountain, meas. for measure, n for foot-note, Riv. for *Rivâyat*, and Zs. for Selections of *Zâd-sparam*.

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*Avīgēh-dīn*, book, Int. 36.  
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*Ayazem*, man, Dk. IX, 38, 5 n.  
*Az̄-ī Dahāk*, king, Dk. VIII, 35, 13; IX, 10, 3; 21, 11-13, 16, 18, 20, 21.  
*Āz̄ō*, demon, Dk. IX, 32, 3 n.
- Bagh* nask, Dk. VIII, 4, 1 n; Riv. I; II, 4; III, 5; IV, 5; Dv. 4.  
*Baghān-yast* nask, Dk. VIII, 15, 1 n; Riv. II, 15; III, 16; IV, 16; Dv. 15.  
*Bahman Pūngyah*, man, Dk. VIII, 2, 2 n; IX, 2, 3 n; Riv. I; Fr. 45<sup>1</sup>.  
*Bahman Yast*, Fr. 45<sup>2</sup>.  
*Bahrām* I, king, Dk. IX, 39, 13 n.  
*Bakān*, Dk. IX, 47, 2, 9, 11; 48, 1; Fr. 45<sup>3</sup>.  
*Bakān-yast* nask, Int. 40, 41, 43, 45; Dk. VIII, 1, 11, 12, 16 n; 15, 1; Fr. 47<sup>0</sup>, 47<sup>1</sup>, 48<sup>8</sup>.  
*Bakdād*, Int. 33.  
*Bakō* nask, Int. 43-45; Dk. VIII, 1, 9, 12; 4, 1, 2; 46, 1 n; IX, 47, 2; 50, 2; 69, 1 n; Zs. 4 n; Fr. 45<sup>1</sup> n, 45<sup>3</sup>, 46<sup>1</sup>, 46<sup>3</sup>, 46<sup>4</sup>.  
*Barāzak*, man, Dk. IX, 18, 18.  
*Baris* nask, Int. 43, 45; Dk. VIII, 1, 10, 12; 9, 1, 20; Riv. I; II, 9; III, 10; IV, 10; Dv. 9; Fr. 46<sup>7</sup>, 48<sup>8</sup>.  
*Barmāyūn*, ox, Dk. IX, 21, 22; 22, 2.  
*Barsōm*, Dk. IX, 43, 7 n.  
*Bartarūsh*, man, Dk. VIII, 35, 13 n.  
*Barzū Kāmdīn*, priest, Riv. o n.  
--- *Qiyāmu-d-dīn*, priest, Riv. IV, 8.  
*Bavafāl*, book, Riv. II, 6; IV, 7.  
*Bayān-yast* nask, Int. 45 n; Dk. VIII, 15, 1 n; Riv. I.  
*Bāzāj* sin, Dk. VIII, 31, 39.  
*Bēvarāsp*, title, Dk. IX, 21, 7.  
*Bōdōk-varst* sin, Dk. VIII, 19, 1 n.  
*Bōdōk-zēd* sin, Dk. VIII, 19, 1 n; 34, 11 n.  
*Bombay*, Int. 36, 37.  
*Brādrōk-rēsh*, man, Dk. VIII, 35, 13 n.  
*Bundahiš*, book, Dk. VIII, 5, 5 n;
- IX, 32, 10 n; 47, 2 n; Riv. IV, 23; Dv. 23; Fr. 46<sup>5</sup>.  
*Būtāl*, book, Dv. 6.
- Caspian sea*, Dk. VIII, 18, 9 n; IX, 18, 14 n; 22, 4 n, 9 n.  
*Ch* in Oriental words is printed *K*.
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*Dāz̄ik* men, Dk. VIII, 1, 5 n.  
*Dahāk*, king, Dk. VIII, 13, 8, 9; IX, 5, 2; 15, 2; 16, 17 n; 21, 1, 2, 8-10.  
*Dahīn-aīyyār*, man, Int. 35.  
*Dāhmān āfrīn*, Dk. IX, 22, 1, 2.  
*Dāitī* peak, Dk. IX, 20, 3.  
*Dāmdād* nask, Int. 43, 45; Dk. VIII, 1, 10, 12, 16 n; 5, 1, 5 n; Riv. I; Fr. 46<sup>5</sup>.  
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*Dashmest*, meas., Dk. VIII, 20, 19.  
*Dārtānīk*, man, Dk. IX, 15, 2.  
*Davāns*, man, Fr. 46<sup>9</sup>.  
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*Dimāvand* m., Dk. IX, 15, 2 n; 16, 17 n; 21, 10 n.  
*Dinkard*, book, Int. 29, 30, 32-39, 41, 43, 46; Dk. VIII, 1, 5 n, 20 n; 18, 18 n; 14, 4; 44, 51 n; IX, 47, 2 n; 69, 1 n; Zs. o n; Dk. III, 197, 6 n; IV, 2 n.  
*Dīn-vigirgard*, book, Dk. VIII, 2, 2 n; Dv. o n.  
*Dryāspa*, angel, Dk. IX, 15, 3 n.  
*Dīghdāvō*, woman, Dv. 13; Fr. 46<sup>9</sup>, 48<sup>3</sup>.  
*Dūrāsrōb*, man, Dk. VIII, 35, 13 n.  
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*Duvāsarōnigad* nask, Dk. VIII, 21, 1 n; Riv. II, 18.  
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 Zand, commentary, Dk. VIII, 1, 3; 8, 3; Fr. 477. See Avesta and Zand.  
 Zaratûst, apostle, Int. 32; Dk. VIII, 1, 20; 10, 3; 11, 2, 4; 20, 114; 38, 68 n; 45, 3, 14; IX, 2, 17; 12, 3 n; 13, 1, 8, 9; 15, 1, 4; 16, 19 n; 20, 5; 25, 4; 28, 3; 29, 5, 13; 30, 4; 33, 5; 34, 7; 35, 2, 5; 43, 7; 44, 14, 17-21; 45, 2-4; 53, 17; 54, 5, 8; 59, 13, 18; 60, 1; 61, 7, 12; 65,
- 3; 67, 1; 69, 3, 23, 59; accepts religion, Dk. IX, 24, 18; IV, 22 n, 23; advised, Dk. IX, 12, 13; 24, 15, 17; 25, 2; 27, 1; 39, 25; 43, 8, 11; birth, Dk. VIII, 3, 1; 14, 1, 2; 44, 79; IX, 24, 1, 2, 4, 7-13; coming, Dk. VIII, 13, 16, 20; conflict with demons, Dk. VIII, 44, 74, 75; his family, Dk. VIII, 29, 25; his successors, Dk. VIII, 14, 12-14; IX, 39, 18; 41, 6-8; killed, Dk. VIII, 35, 13 n; law of, Zs. 3; life and actions, Dk. VIII, 14, 3-10; praise of, Dk. IX, 28, 1, 6; 42, 7; 50, 2; religion of, Dk. IX, 37, g-j; 51, 12; 52, 7; 53, 11, 18; 54, 7; 57, 28; 58, 3; 61, 14; speaks, Dk. IX, 12, 23; 27, 2; 31, 7, 9, 11; 35, 18, 22, 24; 37, m; 69, 8, 30; III, 7, 4; spoken to, Dk. IX, 28, 2, 4, 8; 31, 6; 32, 9, 12; 33, 1; 35, 13, 17, 20, 21, 25; 37, e, k, n; 39, 1, 4, 15, 20, 22, 26; 42, 13; 43, 10; 44, 1; 46, 3; 61, 1; 64, 9, 12; 65, 6, 8; 69, 5, 15, 16, 20, 26; III, 7, 1, 3, 5; vision of the future, Dk. IX, 8, 1-3; 35, 14. Zaratûst the Spitâmân, Int. 34; Dk. VIII, 18, 16; IX, 27, 1; 30, 11; 32, 17, 21; 41, 5; 68, 1. Zaratûst, priest, Int. 32. Zaratûst-i Atûrpâdân, Dk. VIII, 13, 18 n. Zârkô, demon, Dk. IX, 9, 1; 21, 4 n. Zarmân, demon, Dk. IX, 21, 4 n. Zatamistân ch., Dk. VIII, 17, 1. Zirast nask, Dv. 14. Ziyânakistân ch., Dk. VIII, 40, 1. Zôti, priest, Dk. VIII, 7, 5, 9; 8, 3; 29, 1, 5, 13; 31, 20; IX, 12, 26-28; 24, 4; 38, 5; 43, 7; 69, 50.

## ERRATA.

P. 89, ll. 9, 10, for 'the Irâanian nationality (Aîrîh)' read 'subjection (hêrih)'  
 P. 186, ll. 19, 20, for 'preparation' read 'bespattering'

In several places it would be better to read *âmûkô*, 'teaching,' instead of *hamô-kun*, 'every kind (or mode),' so as to obtain the following amended passages:—

P. 23, ll. 14–16. Then the exalting chanted teaching of Aûharmazd for Zaratûst is called, &c.

P. 24, l. 1, the teaching for Kâî-Vistâsp; &c.

P. 114, ll. 15–18, the meritoriousness in the guardianship and teaching by the keepers of those flocks; the happy effect of the flock and that of the keeper's teaching; &c.

„ ll. 23–28, that of the disciple through the teaching by the priestly instructor; the teaching of the priestly instructor for the pupil, and the happy effect of the priestly instructor's teaching in similar matters.

P. 119, ll. 2–5, the want of eminence of any one through a teaching that is an offence to others, which is owing to his closed doors and evil eminence in teaching; &c.

Professor Darmesteter has suggested the following correction:—

P. 26, ll. 22, 23, for 'based upon the traditional early law (*vâsarîd pêsdâdô*)' read 'dependent upon Vâgerêd the Pêrdâdian;' [who was the twin brother of Hôshâng; see Sachau's *Albûrûnî's Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp. 206, 211].



TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS  
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.						
<b>Gutturales.</b>									
1 Tenuis . . . . .	.	.	.	k	.	.	ك	כ	ك
2 " aspirata . . . . .	.	.	.	kh	.	.	خ	ח	خ
3 Media . . . . .	.	.	.	g	.	.	گ	ג	گ
4 " aspirata . . . . .	.	.	.	gh	.	.	ڻ	ڙ	ڻ
5 Gutturo-Labialis . . . . .	.	.	.	q	.	.	ڧ	ڧ	ڧ
6 Nasalis . . . . .	.	.	.	n (ng)	.	.	ن	נ	ن
7 Spiritus asper . . . . .	.	.	.	h	.	.	ه	ה	ه
8 " lenis . . . . .	.	.	.	,	.	.	ـ	ـ	ـ
9 " asper faucialis . . . . .	.	.	.	'h	.	.	ـ	ـ	ـ
10 " lenis faucialis . . . . .	.	.	.	h	.	.	ـ	ـ	ـ
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	.	.	.	'h	.	.	ـ	ـ	ـ
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	.	.	.	'h	.	.	ـ	ـ	ـ
<b>Gutturales modifcateae (palatales, &amp;c.)</b>									
13 Tenuis . . . . .	.	.	.	k	.	.	ك	כ	ك
14 " aspirata . . . . .	.	.	.	kh	.	.	خ	ח	خ
15 Media . . . . .	.	.	.	g	.	.	گ	ג	گ
16 " aspirata . . . . .	.	.	.	gh	.	.	ڻ	ڙ	ڻ
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	.	.	.	h	.	.	ه	ه	ه

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis . . . . .	y	.....	.....	य	.....	.....	.....	ي	י	.....
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .		(j)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	ج	ג	.....
20 " lenis . . . . .		(h)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	ه	ה	.....
21 " asper assibilatus . . .		s	.....	श	.....	.....	.....	س	س	.....
22 " lenis assibilatus . . .		z	.....	ষ	.....	.....	.....	ز	ز	.....
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis . . . . .	t	.....	.....	त	.....	.....	.....	ت	ת	.....
24 " aspirata . . . . .	th	.....	.....	थ	.....	.....	.....	ٿ	ٿ	.....
25 " assibilata . . . . .		.....	.....	TH	.....	.....	.....	ڻ	ڻ	.....
26 Media . . . . .	d	.....	.....	ਦ	.....	.....	.....	د	د	.....
27 " aspirata . . . . .	dh	.....	.....	ਧ	.....	.....	.....	ڌ	ڌ	.....
28 " assibilata . . . . .		.....	.....	DH	.....	.....	.....	ڏ	ڏ	.....
29 Nasalis . . . . .	n	.....	.....	ਨ	.....	.....	.....	ن	ن	.....
30 Semivocalis . . . . .	l	.....	.....	ਲ	.....	.....	.....	ل	ل	.....
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	l	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	ل	ل	.....
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	l	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	ل	ل	.....
33 Spiritus asper 1 . . . . .	s	.....	.....	ਸ	.....	.....	.....	س	س	.....
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	s	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	س	س	.....
35 " lenis . . . . .	z	.....	.....	ଶ	.....	.....	.....	ز	ز	.....
36 " aspermus 1 . . . . .		.....	.....	ଷ	.....	.....	.....	ڙ	ڙ	.....
37 " aspermus 2 . . . . .		.....	.....	ଷ	.....	.....	.....	ڙ	ڙ	.....



VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian	Arabic.	Hebrew	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis . . . . .	o	e	ø	अ	अ	۰	۰	۰	۰	۰
2 Laryngo-palatalis . . . . .	x	ɛ	ɔ	ऋ	ऋ	۱	۱	۱	۱	۱
3 " labialis . . . . .	ø	ø	ø	ऋ	ऋ	۲	۲	۲	۲	۲
4 Gutturalis brevis . . . . .	a	a	a	ऋ	ऋ	۳	۳	۳	۳	۳
5 " longa . . . . .	â	(a)	â	ऋ	ऋ	۴	۴	۴	۴	۴
6 Palatalis brevis . . . . .	i	i	i	ऋ	ऋ	۵	۵	۵	۵	۵
7 " longa . . . . .	t	(e)	t	ऋ	ऋ	۶	۶	۶	۶	۶
8 Dentalis brevis . . . . .	z	z	z	ऋ	ऋ	۷	۷	۷	۷	۷
9 " longa . . . . .	zz	zz	zz	ऋ	ऋ	۸	۸	۸	۸	۸
10 Lingualis brevis . . . . .	r̄i	r̄i	r̄i	ऋ	ऋ	۹	۹	۹	۹	۹
11 " longa . . . . .	r̄t	r̄t	r̄t	ऋ	ऋ	۱۰	۱۰	۱۰	۱۰	۱۰
12 Labialis brevis . . . . .	u	u	u	ऋ	ऋ	۱۱	۱۱	۱۱	۱۱	۱۱
13 " longa . . . . .	uu	uu	uu	ऋ	ऋ	۱۲	۱۲	۱۲	۱۲	۱۲
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis . . . . .	e	e	e	ऋ	ऋ	۱۳	۱۳	۱۳	۱۳	۱۳
15 " longa . . . . .	ee	e (ai)	e (ai)	ऋ	ऋ	۱۴	۱۴	۱۴	۱۴	۱۴
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis . . . . .	ai	(ai)	ai	ऋ	ऋ	۱۵	۱۵	۱۵	۱۵	۱۵
17 " . . . . .	ei (ɛɪ)	ei (ɛɪ)	ei (ɛɪ)	ऋ	ऋ	۱۶	۱۶	۱۶	۱۶	۱۶
18 " . . . . .	oi (ɔɪ)	oi (ɔɪ)	oi (ɔɪ)	ऋ	ऋ	۱۷	۱۷	۱۷	۱۷	۱۷
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis . . . . .	o	-	-	ऋ	ऋ	۱۸	۱۸	۱۸	۱۸	۱۸
20 " longa . . . . .	ø (au)	ø (au)	ø (au)	ऋ	ऋ	۱۹	۱۹	۱۹	۱۹	۱۹
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis . . . . .	âu	(au)	(au)	ऋ	ऋ	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۰
22 " . . . . .	eu (ɛ̄u)	eu (ɛ̄u)	eu (ɛ̄u)	ऋ	ऋ	۲۱	۲۱	۲۱	۲۱	۲۱
23 " . . . . .	ou (ɔ̄u)	ou (ɔ̄u)	ou (ɔ̄u)	ऋ	ऋ	۲۲	۲۲	۲۲	۲۲	۲۲
24 Gutturalis fracts . . . . .	ã	-	-	ऋ	ऋ	۲۳	۲۳	۲۳	۲۳	۲۳
25 Palatalis fracts . . . . .	î	-	-	ऋ	ऋ	۲۴	۲۴	۲۴	۲۴	۲۴
26 Labialis fracts . . . . .	ii	-	-	ऋ	ऋ	۲۵	۲۵	۲۵	۲۵	۲۵
27 Gutturo-labialis fracts . . . . .	ö	-	-	ऋ	ऋ	۲۶	۲۶	۲۶	۲۶	۲۶

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